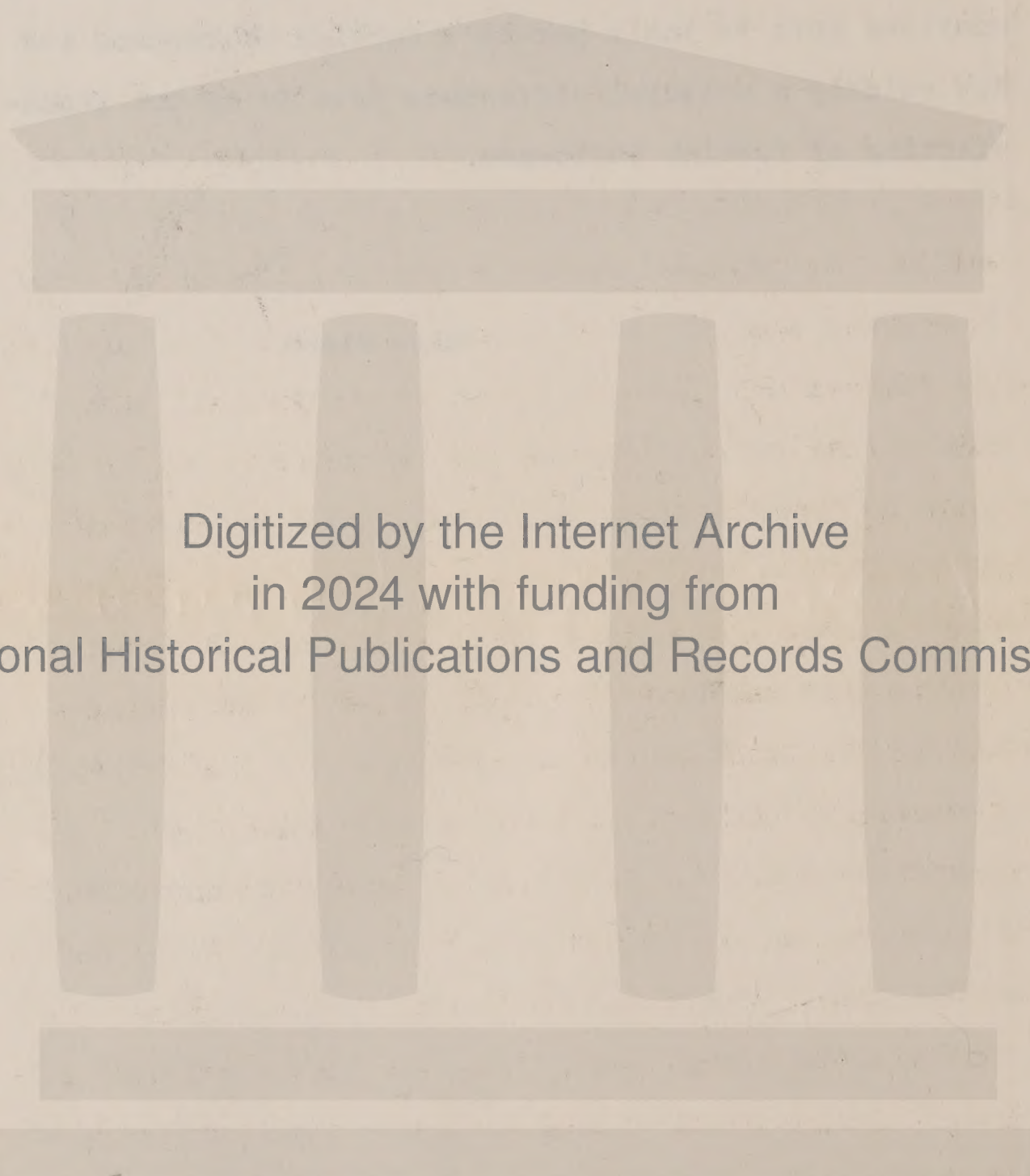


I thought it interesting to note the following two instances and the different reactions of people to similar circumstances, and the reactions of 1st generation american born to their parent's foreign background and how quickly a cultural difference sets in on the transplanting of foreign influence.

Miss Olson



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43

35

1st Generation American Born of Finnish Parents
Age--34--woman

I was born in California. My parents were born in Finland. My mother came from a small village in the interior of the country, and my father was born in one of the cities on the western coast. They both speak Finnish. There are two girls in the family, a younger sister and myself. We both speak Finnish, and I am also able to read it. My younger sister is not very interested, but I have read some of the Finnish literature, including the epic "Kalevale." I do not fully understand all that I read because my knowledge of the language is what I have picked up from listening and talking with my parents. I was not able to read and fully understand all of the "Kalevale" as there are so many declensions and different uses of words that went over my head. I have been making a study of the Scandinavian literature. But I am especially interested in Finland. I want to know something of my parent's background. They did not come from any wonderful homes or anything like that. My mother was raised in the country, and my father lived in the city but did not have a very easy time of it. We have relatives in Finland, and some day I hope to visit them. My parents have been back once since they first left the country. They have been here in America so long now that they speak English almost entirely.

26

My parents have almost no friends among the Finns, and I hardly know any one. Somehow it was difficult for me to become acquainted or to mix with them. It seems strange, too, as long as I am so interested in the people and the country, not to have any friends among them. I went to the University of California, and there are many Finns in Berkeley, but I still didn't know any of them. After I graduated from College, I thought that I might like to establish myself and my work among the Finns. I went up north, where there are quite a number of Finnish settlements. But here it was the same thing. I did not fit in or feel at home with them. There was something about their life that I could not quite understand, although I had a general knowledge and idea of their background. I couldn't tie them up with my own people. There was something here that I could not grasp and could not adjust myself satisfactorily, even though I really wanted to.

51 A Finnish Immigrant 234 [70]
Came to America in 1875 - at the age of 11.

Not copied
My father owned a small farm up in the forests of Finland. He had already seen his best days when the idea of immigrating to America came into his mind and was seriously considered. He was attached to the little place and to the country that had been home to him for so long. But when he thought of his six sons growing up to face a future that looked anything but promising for them. Seeing the serious~~ness~~^{ness} of the situation, the love for his home and native land gave way for the wish to emigrate.

On his little farm, in Finland, he was not able to raise enough to feed and support the family. In the winter or early spring he would have to leave home with my two older brothers. They would travel on foot through the

2) dense and lonely forests to find work in distant provinces. In their knapsacks, made of birch-bark, they carried the food and necessities that they would need. These long and lonely tramps, to find work, left a deep and somewhat bitter impression on my father.

My father's thoughts would dwell more and more on America and there were many discussions as to the advisability of our emigrating. The trip alone, at this time, held many hazards. Along with these were the uncertainties in the unknown situations of a strange land. All of these circumstances would take the most serious thought and deliberation.

But finally after much planning and discussion, within the family circle, it was at last decided that we should go to America. The announcement of the auction was given out and everything went under the hammer. Tickets were bought for America, with ~~mine~~ Minnesota our destination.

B) In the beginning our life in the new ⁽⁷¹⁾ country was neither more difficult nor easier than thousands of others in the same circumstances. It was like a stereotyped lesson that all had to learn. There was the worry and uneasiness of meeting new conditions, two empty hands, (in this case there were many more), without a roof over their heads, often without work or means of work, not being able to speak the new language, and at times illness would come into the family. All of these things were just a part of what these immigrants had to contend with.

But we children were young and strong and to us it was a great adventure. My father and my two older brothers got work as lumberjacks. There were almost as dense forests up in northern Minnesota as in our native land. My father and brothers had already ^{had} some experience in this trade and

4) they were not afraid of the hard work or of the bitter cold. The climate too was a great deal the same as in our homeland. My father's ambition was to get a few acres of land and to have his own little farm. He was getting older and could not keep up much longer with the strenuous work in the woods. Other work was hard to get and one had to go long distances to find it.

After a year or two, with the help of my brothers, my father was able to buy a small piece of land not far from where they were working. This land had a scrubby growth of trees and stumps left by the lumber companies who had logged off the desirable ^{timber} ~~lumber~~. The land itself when cleared and cultivated was probably better than the land on our farm in Finland. But the conditions, the landscape and also the climate reminded us of our native land. We felt very much at home in the new

5) Country.

(12)

Our first home in America was a crudely built log-cabin. This was built on the highest part of the land where the drainage was good. There is always some swamp on these timber lands. The family moved on the farm as soon as the shack was completed enough to make a shelter for us. The first summer my father cleared about an acre of land and on this he planted potatoes and one or two other vegetables. But now the ^{most} important thing was to get a cow and maybe a few chickens. With these we could at least assure ourselves of a food supply until the rest of the land could be gradually cleared and cultivated.

There were now four of the younger boys at home. We were all able to help at doing something, especially the two older ones, who were then 14 and 16 years old and big and strong for their age. They worked like regular men, helping my father to build a cow-barn and a place for the chickens and the many kinds of

6) buildings a Finn usually has on his farm. Even my younger brother and I could help by gathering up the many loose stones and boulders, that were scattered all over the place. Here in the wilderness there was work for every one who ~~could~~ was able to work. Everything had to be of use. But at least there was the opportunity in work and one could at least get something to eat and someplace to sleep unless some unforeseen calamity happened. Of course life here was primitive. There were no standards of living. There were hardships to face that we would now think of as being unbearable.

~~Everything~~^{all work} that was done here on the was for our own benefit and helped to further our own independence. My parents could see almost from the beginning a future that held out some promise to them and their family. They were not sorry that they had come to America. Those ~~of us~~ who came from the poorer, especially the rural, classes in the old country had already a good training for any emergencies that might

7) arise. There was nothing in the way ⁽⁷³⁾ of privations that they had not endured. My parents had known what it was to face famine in the old country. Many times they had to grind the bark of the trees for meal and mix it with the oats and barley for their bread. At times there was only the bark meal to use. There had always been this bitter struggle for these poorer peoples in their native land. And when they emigrated it was not that they were ~~for~~ seeking an easy life but that they wanted to see some hope in the future especially for their children. And to a Finn especially, where there is any kind of land to till, be it the poorest, he feels hopeful. Whatever the length of time that must elapse before final ~~success~~ success he has the patience and the endurance to see it through.

My two older brothers were now able to be home over the summer and help work the farm. Their ambition was to

8) buy more land. There was plenty of unclaimed land all around us, ready to be cleared and cultivated. One of my older brothers was getting married in the spring and he was now ready to establish a home of his own. This he did by getting additional land next to my father's farm. In this way we could now join forces in helping my brother get a home. We were fortunate in having so many husky boys in the family. The brother next, in age, to me stayed on the farm until he was almost 20 years old. He then went to work in one of the copper mines in Michigan. The other brother went along with the others as a lumber-jack. In their free time and during the summers they would come home and work on the farm.

The farm, by this time, was beginning to show the results of our combined efforts. Acre upon acre had come under cultivation. And this progress meant that we had ~~had~~ to cut down timber,

9) Clear the underbrush and roots, dynamite the stumps and gather the boulders from all parts of the land and draining off the swampy places. This work followed one thing after another until the land is entirely cleared and developed.

There were now many acres of hay, to feed the small ~~beast~~ herd of cattle that my father had built up. My father and brother each owned a horse and these were hitched up together for all plowing and heavy work on both farms. There was now a good living to be made on these farms.

I was now grown and I began to feel the urge to see the world beyond the farm. I was also the least rugged of the family so that my work was probably worth the least to them. My father was getting old but there were my brothers to take ~~things~~ over the farm. Mining did not appeal to me so I got work in a manufacturing plant, first in Michigan and later in Illinois. I liked the city life and I never went back to live on the farm. Although all of

10) my brothers except one ~~have~~ stayed on the farm all their lives and never asked for anything more to their liking. They were always perfectly satisfied and they also made a success of it.

My work in the city naturally put me in touch with different conditions and at times there was much uncertainty and anxiety. But I got to be expert in my line of work and I was able to support a family, own a home and give my four children a good education. So ~~in~~ ^{by} ~~different~~ means my brothers and I ~~had~~ ^{have} accomplished the same results.

Later as I got older I came west. I had heard a great deal about the north west. My two daughters were now married and living out here. But I shall always remember America as it was the first years, when I was on the farm and working in the east. It is there that I have the real feeling of home and America.

Finnish Settlement in California

The Finnish Vice-Consul was unable to furnish exact statistics ~~xx~~ on the settlement of Finnish immigrants in California. The following information is ,therefore, quite incomplete and likely to be inaccurate.

According to him, the total population of Finns in California numbers approximately 15,000. Generally the settlement of these people is in a concentrated area ,and the settlers fairly specialized in occupation. The territory of settlement generally determines the type of employment.

The years of greatest emigration from Finland coincide with those of greatest total foreign immigration to the United States. From 1899 to 1905 a large number of Finns left their home country because of the russianization of Finland undertaken at that time by the czar and the threat of conscription to the Russian army. In 1905 the Finnish policy of passive resistance to the czar culminated in a great general strike, forcing the Russian government to lessen for a time attempted domination of Finland. More national privileges were thus secured, and there was a consequent drop in emigration.

There are seven centers of settlement of the Finns in California. Fort Bragg numbers about 1000 Finns, most of whom are workers in the lumbering industry. Eureka has approximately 1500 settlers, likewise occupied in the mills and forests. At Reedley, in Fresno county, there is a group of some 400 Finns mainly devoted to fruit farming, and at Petaluma some 350 are chicken farmers. In recent years Los Angeles and San Pedro have attracted more and more Finns, and in those places the people are usually found in carpentering or domestic positions. Of the 1750 there, the large

proportion have only recently established residence in the south of the state. The bay area has 6,000 Finnish residents and is the largest grouping in the state. In San Francisco many of the women are domestics ,while the men may be found amongst the seamen or in the tailoring business.

The first immigration of Finns occurred about fifty years ago, and has diminished to a very small number in recent times.

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FIELD CONTINUITY
Minority Survey: Finlanders.
San Diego Project
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Bert Vanzi
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Date 11/9/36.
No. of words
1500

FINNISH COLONY

Population

San Diego has a very few but intensely interesting Finnish people who have become permanent members of the community. The total of foreign-born Finlanders is placed at 77, while the entire population, including American-born persons of pure Finnish parentage, is approximately 85. The explanation of this slight difference in figures is the fact that most of the younger generation of Finns are married to Americans or other nationalities than that of their parents. The Consolidated Aircraft Corporation's recent expansion has increased the number of local Finns by approximately eight families. The local colony is confident that the next census will show well over 100 Finnish speaking people in San Diego.

Place of Origin.

All provinces of Finland have contributed to the local colony's population. The city of Abo and Helsinki (Helsingfors) being the largest cities of Finland have naturally more representatives locally. Minnesota was usually the first stopping off place of immigrant Finlanders, so most of the San Diego colony had their initial introduction to American ways and ideas in Duluth, Minneapolis, or St. Paul. The very large Finnish colonies in San Francisco and Portland invited many of the middle western and European Finns; a few of these, particularly those in building trades and construction work, event-

page 2.

ually made their homes here.

Native Or-
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The small size of the Finnish colony here has prohibited the organizing of any chartered society. Many belong to Swedish and American clubs where they enjoy benefits and social contacts. The closest thing the Finns have at present, and something which is being developed into what they hope will be an organized group, is a visiting idea whereby at various intervals the colony assembles at a private home or in some park for a truly Finnish "few hours". This plan has kept the colony in close contact and has helped them in retaining, especially among the younger people, a knowledge of the Old Country's language, music, dances, and traditions. The vernacular newspaper, "The Comrade", published in Portland, Oregon, is helping to keep the local people cognizant of the whereabouts of their next gathering. These unorganized affairs are hugely enjoyed by all and the spirit of national unity which they inspire is a great asset towards unification of purpose and betterment of conditions. The Finns, being an historically clannish people, share each other's burdens and needs; this fact is manifest by the immediate cooperation the various families here offer a fellow countryman in distress, though they have no club with a beneficial fund for that purpose. The hotel at 1248 E St., owned by H. Aavikko, (H. Prairie is the English equivalent of the name), has

been used most frequently by San Diego Finns for their parties and celebrations. His address has become associated with all Finnish affairs and information.

Feasts &
Holidays

Locally the day of most lavish celebration is June 24th, Midsummer Day. On this occasion the feasting starts during midday and continues until well past midnight. Every moment is occupied with music, dancing, eating, and singing. When possible, everyone meets at some large park where they can dance their native dances "under the trees, under glistening stars, and clear skies". The favorite dance at this time is one of Finland's oldest and most traditional, the Koiviston Polkka, Dance of the Forest and Birds, danced to the exciting tune of Iiten Tiltu. The dance and the music are an expression of the Finnish people's undying optimism and hope during nearly 1000 years of suppression by Russians and Swedes. Swedish and Russian themes are both part of Finnish music today, but the Iiten Tiltu has retained its originality and individualism. The dance demonstrates the associations and origin of the original Finlanders, for it is akin to the dances of the Hungarian's Tschuvashes of the Volga Valley, and the Votiaks and Tchuds of Russia, who are all descendents of the Finno-Urgic tribes. The dance is performed by both men and women who whirl and stomp with amazing speed and vigor. There seems to

be no point of exhaustion as they go on for hours at a stretch. The great athletic stamina of the race may have demanded such a strenuous dance, or the rigors of the dance may have demanded an athletic race, -- at any rate the Finnish Polkka found its master. Another dance of equal grace but lesser speed is the Finnish Masourka, the Kehra Tyttonen, one of the most interpretative and rhythmic dances of any nation. The holiday dancing is usually finished by a mass singing of the Finnish National Anthem, the Maamme Laulu, and another whirl at the Polkka. On other days, in honor of no particular holiday, the Finns assemble to read the Runos of their ancient and beautiful Kalevala, the national poem of the pure Finns.

Folk Tales,
Customs, &
Poems.

The reading of the Kalevala, which is the Odyssey of Finland, is usually done by two people who read either from manuscript or from memory with singing intonations which the meter practically demands, takes hours and hours. The Kalevala is of a peculiar religion in as much as it is a Shamanistic animism overlaid with Christianity. The Kalevala deals with the history of four heroes, Vainamoinen -- a great culture hero, minstrel, and patriarch; his brother, Ilmarinen, is a great smith and craftsman; Lemminkainen, the third hero, is the reckless jovial character who is always getting into trouble, his redeeming feature is his great

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A national custom, which is associated with no other country than Finland, is the Finnish bath or Sauna. The bath hut is usually made of sturdy timbers inside of which is built a wood fire containing large rocks. The heat generated by this method is entirely dry and very cleansing. The bathers exercise inside of the hut by beating each other with birch boughs, thereby stimulating the circulation. The Finnish people claim that this form of bath is the basic reason for their vitality and excellent health. Be that as it may, the writer, from experience, knows that it takes a person of excellent resistance to withstand the rigors of the Sauna. There are three such bath houses in San Diego, one in particular at 3530 40th Street.

Occupations
here & abroad

Most of the Finlanders in their own country were grain farmers, dairymen, lumbermen, miners, fishermen, stock raisers, pulp workers, mill workers, machinists, builders, and merchants; naturally those of the professional classes had degrees in as many professions as we have to offer in America. The educational advantages in Finland have made it possible for all the Finns who have come here to know a trade or profession. We have among our local colony machinists, farmers, tailors, hotel keepers, one U. S. Customs Officer, writers, doctors, shopkeepers, and constructionists. Practically all of them are outstanding as being of superior ability.

The great nationalism, before mentioned, of the Finns has not led them to take a condescending attitude toward this, their adopted country -- quite the opposite -- they become as fervently patriotic towards America and its ideals as members of any other race, but they do retain an intimate contact with the traditions of their homeland, of which they can be justly proud. The quota they are allowed by the immigration regulations proves their desirability as American citizens.

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Customs, songs, organizations, occupations, & origin.

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the professional classes had degrees in as many professions as we have to offer in America. The educational advantages in Finland have made it possible for all the Finns who have come here to know a trade or profession. We have among our local colony machinists, farmers, tailors, hotel keepers, one U. S. Customs Officer, writers, doctors, shopkeepers, and constructionists. Practically all of them are outstanding as being of superior ability.

The great nationalism, before mentioned, of the Finns has not led them to take a condescending attitude toward this, their adopted country -- quite the opposite -- they become as fervently patriotic towards America and its ideals as members of any other race, but they do retain an intimate contact with the traditions of their homeland, of which they can be justly proud. The quota they are allowed by the immigration regulations proves their desirability as American citizens.

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Berkeley's Finnish community contains elements of conflict transferred from Finland to a foreign soil. Nationalist and socialist differences, rather than languishing in this country are intensified by the problem of adjustment confronting the immigrant population. Finnish nationalists maintain a reverence for their home country regardless of existent conditions there; they take great pride in their national group and in the most estimable qualities of it; they are anxious that in their community they be accorded due recognition for their virtues, and thereby be considered desirable citizens of an adopted land. The radicals, on the other hand, maintain the right of criticism of the government in Finland and in the United States, and by nature of their philosophy, disdain false notions of national honor. In a sense they are better adapted to American life, for they do not deny themselves of the right of criticism on the ground that they are foreigners. In Finland, then, the divergence of opinion is less complicated by this desire of a national minority to seem unobtrusive in an adopted country. Certain events in recent years illustrate the influence of this attitude in dividing the colony in Berkeley even more decisively than are Finns in Finland over political differences.

In the early history of the settlement in Berkeley, there was only one Finnish hall at which all the social affairs were held. While serving its primary purpose in furnishing the social life of the colonists, it became a political center as well, for it grew up at a time in which the predominating party in Finland representing the workers (from whom the large proportion of immigrants are drawn) was Social-Democratic. Those here who were non-politically mind-

ed. formed a fraternal organization within the larger one and continued meeting within the hall. Following the defeat of the Social-Democracy in Finland, many of the more advanced workers were swept into the ranks of the Communists. Natural reverberation occurred in the United States, where national organizations closely connected with Finland sought support for the ideology and struggles of their countrymen. The radicals in trying to rally assistance found it increasingly difficult to remain passive to the impassivity of their fraternal brothers. To them the fraternal type of organization was a means of perpetuating capital, for it took care of all social security that rightfully the state should administer. Conflict increased, until eventually the fraternal group was ejected from the hall and forced to meet in a store in the vicinity.

Since the fraternal group numbered a good proportion of the Finns who were comfortably off, they conceived the idea of pooling their savings and building another hall in which they could meet, and at the same time carry on their social functions without their more radical countrymen. This was done about four years ago just as most people were beginning to mistrust the ordinary channels of investment, and thus considered the hall an adequate type of investment--remunerative in more than one sense. At the present time their membership constitutes several hundreds, all receiving the benefits of an ordinary lodge, with the added inducement of a complex and inclusive social life. Choruses, study groups, dances, and other types of entertainment are regularly conducted, and these Finns are enabled to drop their routine and enjoy their lives in America in much the same manner as at home. The subject of politics is forbidden--social security marking the extent to which this group ventures

into the realm of public affairs.

The feeling amongst these people is on^e/of self respect and patient satisfaction with the status of life in America. They are interested in the mutual welfare of their group, pride themselves on their achievements and maintain a loyalty to the home country--regarding their successful settlement here as a product of the fine training of Finns in Finland. They consider the radicals, who continue to meet in the original hall, extremists capable only of drawing down the disdain of the non-Finnish peoples on Finns in general. When the radicals ousted the others they distributed a bulletin to the Finnish households stating the reasons for their action. One of the conservatives remarked: "Thank heaven it was printed in Finnish; it would have disgraced the Finnish people forever had it gotten publicity." This same person stated that all Berkeley Finns were under suspicion because of the radical activities of the Finnish Federation, the radical group, who were constantly under police surveillance.

^s The rewards of the Finnish Brotherhood, the conservative, for their sincere attempt to comply with American rules for foreign immigrants are well illustrated in the following speech made by the mayor of Berkeley at their hall on the occasion of the celebration of the Eighteenth Anniversary of the Finnish Republic. Speaking on "Finnish Americans", the mayor said: "It was under that flag of ours that our soldiers crossed over the ocean to give of their services that freedom and democracy might be preserved. We paid the full measure of our debts in the World War in precious lives and in gold. We loaned billions of dollars to the great and powerful nations of the earth that have forgotten their debts. Yet we

ask nothing in return of the possessions of other lands. There was just one bright light of honesty. A nation small in wealth a land of many forests and many lakes, of homes and cattle and grain. A nation of men and women that seem to have partaken of the firm principles of stability as are in the underlying foundations of their land--granite of honesty--iron of determination--that nation paid her debts. Let us inscribe the name of that nation in letters of gold in the Temple of Fame, to be remembered of men. Finland. "

In the same town the radical hall was practically demolished during the vigilante raids following the General Strike of San Francisco in 1934. A call was sent in by these men of Finland for police protection, but nowhere in Berkeley were police to be found.

THE FINNS

Introductory factual data on the local colony. (incomplete)

According to tradition, there were half a dozen Finns in San Francisco during the gold rush; but their very names are forgotten, and no one seems to possess any information regarding them. It was not until some fifty years ago that Finnish immigrants began, one by one, to drift into the city. The first arrivals were sailors deserting their ships; then a few woodsmen, usually working in northern California forests, made the city their headquarters. At about the same time, half a dozen Finnish carpenters and tailors settled in San Francisco. In 1870 the Finnish population of the city numbered 900; by 1910 it grew to 1,848; and here it remained during the next decade, the census of 1920 giving the figure at 1,810. These figures include both the foreign born and the native (the "second generation").

Few of the early Finnish arrivals here rose to prominence. There was, however, one man, by the name of Kyla, who became the executive head of a commercial company and died a millionaire in 1908.

The Finnish Seamen's Mission was founded, at its present location at the Bowardero and Mission Street, thirty-five years ago. In the years of its existence it has aided up to no less than half a million stranded seamen. Another organization, founded before the turn of the century, was the Finnish Brotherhood, which was and is non-political, eschewing the social, cultural, and nationalistic background of its members. Other organizations, to be dealt with later, are of more recent origin.

The first Finnish bath-house (a unique institution, of which more anon) was built in the 1890s.

In the early days, about 40 per cent of the Finnish immigrants in the Bay section were Swedish-speaking Finns (the division of languages in Finland will be explained in another place), and even today about 35 per cent give their native language as Swedish.

The census of 1930 lists 3,538 San Francisco Finns, an increase of 50 per cent since 1920. With the closing of lumber mills in Canada and in Port Bragg (where a third of the population is Finnish) there resulted a heavy influx of Finns into San Francisco, Portland, and Seattle. In the entire Bay section their number today about 7,000. The state of California has 12,000.

Although, not unlike many other immigrant groups, the Finns are scattered all over the city, a large proportion of them live in the Market Valley district in the neighborhood of Seventeenth and Market Streets.

More than half of this Finnish population of San Francisco are skilled laborers. Carpenters and other expert woodworkers rank first as records numbers; tailors come next; and house painters probably third. There are also many machine shop workers, auto mechanics, cooks, and stevedores. A census of officers on the coastwise ships and on local ferry lines reveals a surprising proportion of Finns. There are some fifty water cariners, and more than one hundred others, almost all of whom live in San Francisco. A goodly number of retired seafarers can also live in the city.

RECEIVED
STATUS

Broadly speaking, the Finns seem to adapt themselves to their new world surroundings somewhat better than, for example, the Germans, their racial kinsmen. Almost all those who have lived here longer than ten years have become naturalized, or at least have declared their intention to become citizens. Comparatively few San Francisco Finns have returned to the old country with their savings. Their economic status is neither better nor worse than that of the members of older American stocks engaged in corresponding occupations. The skilled Finnish workman is probably slightly more reckless with his money than, say, the average Slav or Italian of similar classification; more apt to follow the American "standard of living." On the other hand, he has less excuse for business than the Italian, or the Greek. He figures conspicuously neither on the relief rolls, nor on the income tax-rolls.

THE FINNS

Racial background

There are no extensive historical records of the ancient Finns. There are, however, certain references to them in the history of other nations; a sentence in Tacitus; a mention in a tale of Othere, the Viking (preserved by his lord, King Alfred of England); numerous notices in the reports of Novgorod fur-traders and Greek Church missionaries preserved in the Russian chronicles; an episode or two in the Icelandic sagas. A study of the Finnish language and its affinities to other languages yields some information, as does a study of the skulls, weapons, utensils, and ornaments unearthed from burial mounds. All in all, the origin, migrations, and tribal relations of this people are peculiarly mysterious. The Finns themselves have preserved few traditions as to their distant past.

This is no place to enter into the various theories as to the roots of the original Finnish stock. Together with the Magyars of Hungary and with certain semi-barbaric peoples, scattered throughout northernmost Europe and Siberia (Lapps, Samoieds, Voguls, and Ostiaks), the Finns of Finland, Russian Kareala, and Esthonia are members of the so called Finno-Ugric race.

But among this people, who in prehistoric times settled in Finland, there has been a continuous infiltration of Scandinavian and Gothic blood. The process had been going on for centuries before their forcible conversion to Christianity by the Swedes who invaded Finland in the twelfth century. This Scandinavian element is of far greater extent, perhaps, than many of the Finns, in their national pride, would be willing to admit - although,

save for a small Swedish-speaking fringe along the coast, the people have retained their language and racial instinct.

The darkness of ancient Finland, so lacking in historical illumination, is however lighted in spots, obscurely, but powerfully, by poetry created by the people.

The Finnish folk poetry, as exemplified in the Kalevala, the national epic, has no kinship with the Scandinavian sagas. The mythology in the Kalevala - portions of which are estimated to be at least three thousand years old - is utterly different from that of the Scandinavian Valhalla. Even the form of this ancient Finnish verse springs from a peculiar and savage magic, foreign to the Scandinavians. This magic can hardly be described as religion. It professes little belief in any divine being. Rather it places an implicit faith in the power of certain wizards or magic singers, who, by virtue of their powerful song, can have knowledge of future events and are capable of influencing the course of these events. To know the secret name or origin of a person, animal, or thing is to have power over it.

The wizard falls into a trance, in the course of which he visits the "other world" where he obtains the magic words and formulae necessary for any particular case. These he chants aloud, thus effecting his purpose. These rites were practiced by all the Finno-Ugric tribes. In certain portions of northern Asia they still go on. It has been asserted by various students of primitive magic that the shamans or wizards practicing among the tribes in isolated portions of Siberia sometimes achieve startling results. It is suggested that these are due to mesmerism, but the subject requires further investigation.

The Finns of Finland developed these words of power into a spell, an incantation, a formula of exorcism. All this gradually gave birth to the rune, the magic song, which lived on the lips of the people from generation to generation. The song, or chant, was accompanied by a five-stringed instrument, a sort of harp called kantele.

Thus, long before the art of writing was known, the people had their lyric, their narrative poem, their ritual of domestic events, and their collections of proverbial wisdom. Finnish popular poetry having its origin in magic, in its attendant ceremonies there was always present an elevated sacramental character.

The store of song, handed down by oral traditions, grew to enormous proportions, each singer being free to invent, to add new epithets, descriptions, bits of wisdom, and poetic devices for aiding memory.

How this oral poetry was, early in the last century, collected from the unlettered people in the remote parts of Finland and Russian Karela is a story told in English a sufficient number of times. The chief collector was Elias Lönnrot, a country doctor who traveled through hundreds of miles of backwoods visiting famed singers, and finally welded the material into a semi-coherent epic which he named Kalevala (The Land of the Heroes). The first edition was published in 1835.

The heroes of the Kalevala, unlike those of the Viking sagas and the Ionian songs, fight not with the sword but with song. The magic incantation is the weapon used by these mythical braves in conquering their adversaries. About the heroes themselves there lingers an aura of certain other-worldliness. They have no parents, no beginning and no end of days.

They are neither gods nor mortals. They are symbols of the accumulated savage wisdom and beliefs of the race.

Alone of all the Finno-Ugric tribes, the Finns of Finland and Karealia established a culture of their own, a form of artistic expression (the Magyars, Christianized and civilized earlier, became absorbed in an alien culture). But this culture of the Finns remained steeped in the mistiness of savage magic, in a brooding contemplation of mythical knowledge. This deeply "introspective" quality has apparently always been characteristic of the Finno-Ugrians. It is perhaps dubious, in the light of modern knowledge, to generalize too glibly about the qualities of any race; and it is even more dubious to hazard a guess as to the origins of such qualities. But the Finnic tribes have for thousands of years inhabited a harsh, swampy environment, with a limited access to the sea. They are children of cold dank mist. Does the explanation lie here?

At any rate, the Finns and Lapps have from time immemorial borne the reputation in Europe of being capable of practicing black magic. Among sailors it is still partially believed that certain Finns can call up a wind at will. And in former times, old sailors say, it was customary to buy favorable winds from a Finn, winds tied up in knots on a bit of string.

The important thing to remember, as regards the racial background of the Finns, is that they are a mixed race. As we have seen, they were, for two thousand years, or longer, in contact with the Scandinavians. This is especially true of the Tavastians, who inhabit the greater part of Finland. The Karealans, living on both sides of the border of Finland and Russia, associated, to some extent, with the Slavs. These two "tribes" have marked peculiarities of temperament - the Karelians being slightly more vivacious

less morose than the Tavastians.

About 90 per cent of the immigrants from Finland belong to the latter group. On the surface the Finnish immigrants differ but slightly from the Scandinavians except for the difference in language (and, for that matter, some ten per cent of them are Swedish speaking). The culture of modern Finland has been to a large extent borrowed from Sweden, and of course from western European countries in general. But as regards to temperament and feeling, the Finns are fundamentally different from the Scandinavians. Despite the infiltration of Scandinavian blood, the predominant factor in the heredity of the Finnish immigrant is his ancestral Ugro-Finnic background; for biologically the Finnic strain appears to have been stronger than that brought by the Nordic invader.

The extent to which racial affiliations determine the character of a man is of course a question which leads to the discussion of heredity versus environment. For race is heredity. Does the racial background make the immigrant fundamentally what he is? To what extent does it influence the way in which he feels? It would hardly be profitable to attempt an answer here, but there can be no doubt that the total effect is very great.

The Finn, then, is usually more brooding, secretive, than the Scandinavian. He is apt to be excessively taciturn at times, and at other times too talkative. He is suspicious of strangers, difficult to approach, but has the reputation of being loyal in his friendships. Although Finland, despite her poverty, is one of the most progressive of nations, and although in industrial equipment she now closely approaches American standards, the fact remains that the Finn, as a rule, is not a good business man. He is

too slow, and either too clumsy, or too considerate of the privacy of others, to make a successful salesman. This may explain why, in proportion to their number, the Finnish immigrants in the San Francisco Bay section, for example, include few even moderately successful men of commerce. In this respect they are far behind, say, the Greeks, the Italians, and the Czechs.

THE FINNS

Historical Background

The notion of nationality is baffling and elusive. "Nationality" is a not very satisfactory name for a social group bound together by cultural ties. Being primarily a matter of feeling, it is strong or weak in proportion to the number of basic folkways upon which the individuals feel alike or harmoniously. National unity is strongest when identity of language, religion, moral standards, customs, and what might be termed the philosophy of life are associated with racial homogeneity.

It must be clearly recognized that group solutions of the problems of life that become standardized and sanctioned in customs and mores are not matters of race, though being closely associated with racially identified groups, they often give the illusion of racial character. Such things as religion, moral codes, superstitions, political and economic concepts are not inherited, but acquired, characteristics. The newborn infant has no traces of culture. He begins immediately to acquire it, however. And the acquired cultural traits become in the course of his life so deeply impressed into his nature that they are a part of him - as truly a part of him, but not so immutably, as his racial traits. And moreover, he is apt to be more consciously aware of them than of most of his racial characters. His cultural accumulation becomes infused with sentiments of loyalty, patriotism, truth, and the like. An emancipated individual may criticize certain features of his own group culture, but it will still retain its hold on him in general.

When speaking of the background of an immigrant, we mean essentially

his nationality. The immigrant brings with him a national character that has been impressed upon him by the influences of the group in which he has previously lived. It necessarily differs from the American national character - nor is it the same as his own national character would have been had he been brought up in the United States. In order to become an "American" the immigrant must go through a sort of dual transformation - he must be denationalized and renationalized at the same time. The stronger the national unity of a given group, the more difficult it is for its members to cast it aside and be reborn as Americans.

Though the peasants of Finland with instinctive stubbornness retained their own language, customs, and folklore through centuries of foreign domination, their national consciousness is of comparatively recent origin. It was only with the publication of the Kalevala that Finland first saw herself as a nation.

For many centuries, she had served as a stamping ground for recurrent armed hostilities between Sweden and Russia. While peasants, constantly menaced by fire and sword as well as by the deadly frost that destroyed their meager crops, consoled themselves by chanting the ancient pagan runes, the ruling classes identified themselves with Sweden.

In 1809 the long controversy between Sweden and Russia came to an end: Russia annexed Finland; and the Finns had to put up a stubborn fight against Russification. All classes shared in the fight, but the educated people clung to the Swedish language, and continued to regard Sweden as their "mother country." Opposition to this cultural domination by Sweden gradually grew more and more articulate. And the publication of Kalevala

brought matters to a head. The Finnish language, largely ignored by both prose writers and poets until then, was perceived to have immense possibilities. Alexis Kivi, the great novelist and dramatist, wrote all his works in Finnish. The language controversy was on. It has lasted, with fluctuating fervor, ever since; and today Finnish, formerly the language of the peasants only, is predominant. It is now the official language of the government and the university; Swedish has definitely been relegated to the background. For the last four generations Finland has experienced renewed bursts of patriotic fervor, and the people, amid great economic and political misery and oppression, have derived much compensatory joy from their growing national self-consciousness.

About the beginning of the present century, socialism began to make itself felt as a factor in Finnish politics. The rapid development of the capitalist system, and the growing industrialization of the country made this inevitable. The spread of the revolutionary movement throughout the Russian Empire in 1905 (and the mutiny of the Russian garrison at Sveaborg, on the southern coast of Finland) powerfully accelerated the growth of socialistic ideas; and the result of the General Election of 1907 gave the Social Democratic party eighty seats out of 200 in the Diet. The Finnish city workers (whose number was rapidly growing) and a certain portion of the poorer peasantry embraced socialism with the same fervor that they had embraced patriotism.

At the outbreak of the war in 1914 the Diet was not permitted to assemble, but in 1916 a general election was held. To a certain extent the nationalist parties boycotted the election, but the Socialists turned up in full force and captured a clear majority of the seats. For the time being,

this mattered little; but in 1917, when the Russian Revolution took place and the Diet was permitted to meet once more, the Social Democrats were the party in power. Then followed a bitter struggle between the Reds and the Whites, a struggle which culminated in the Civil War of 1918. In January of that year the Red Guard assumed control and declared revolution. The Whites concentrated their forces under General Mannerheim; and a bitter warfare ensued, with much cruelty on both sides. The Reds were on the verge of success when on March 12 the Germans landed Hango, and the tide turned in favor of the Whites.

On April 8 the Red government evacuated Helsingfors and fled eastward. Over 70,000 prisoners remained in the hands of the victors. The "White terror," perhaps the blackest blot in the history of Finland, followed. Thousands of men and women literally starved to death in the prison camps.

Finland had won her "independence," but at a fearful price. Civil war had torn the country asunder; and the German forces remained in Finland. The Diet elected a German prince as King of Finland. The defeat of Germany by the Allies annulled that act; and Finland at last stood as an independent republic. The present government is less democratic than that of Sweden and Norway. In fact, it has many features akin to fascism, and keeps a strict watch over the activities of suspected "Reds." On the whole, conditions in Finland are better than those in Germany and Italy. The government is solvent, and unemployment has been for the last two years on the decrease.

The State church of Finland is Lutheran Protestant. Other religious sects have gained practically no headway in the country. Until the beginning

of the present century, the peasants were, by and large, deeply religious, at least as regards the outward forms of faith. Since then, prevailing skepticism has held sway among them, and the majority of the immigrants who have arrived since are likely to be but slightly interested in any form of orthodox worship.

Education has been compulsory for the last thirty years. Illiteracy is now negligible. Almost everyone, with the exception of a few older people, can read and write. In 1915, the number of newspapers in Finland, with her population of 3,500,000, equaled that in Russia - population in excess of 100,000,000. It must be borne in mind, however, that these figures present no true index of national culture. The culture of modern Finland is borrowed, smacking of parochiality (and her ancient fountain of natural poetry was sealed long ago, with the coming of western civilization and the killing of the rune singer by the printing press); whereas the potentialities of the Russian national genius remain incalculable.

Causes for emigration

The first Finns in the United States were sailors who had deserted their ships, about the middle of the last century. Other immigration did not, strictly speaking, begin until the 1870s. During the last two decades of the nineteenth century the tales of the fabulous opportunities in America multiplied on the Finnish countryside; and an increasing number of people somehow gathered enough money for their passage.

Economic difficulties were almost entirely responsible for this emigration. Political oppression by the Russian authorities was seldom directed against individuals; and the sporadic attempts at universal mili-

tary conscription of Finns into the Russian army were never successful. Religious persecution was, practically speaking, non-existent.

Finland being predominantly an agricultural nation, a huge majority of the emigrants were peasants. In the northern part of the country the land was, and still is, divided between small farmers whose lot was far from enviable. The poverty of the soil is proverbial. Winter lasts nine months of the year. The three months of summer are barely sufficient for raising the crop of rye and barley. Only by relentless toil does the peasant manage to provide for his family and pay his taxes. Cash can be acquired only by the sale of produce on the markets of the small northern towns - often at a tremendous distance - where prices are low.

To the young son of an average farmer in pre-war Finland, the stories of America were fantastic and alluring. Though he might have at his disposal a horse and a gaily painted sledge, the young farmer was apt to think of an American laborer, receiving fifteen marks a day (three dollars in pre-war money) with envious awe.

But to the hired man, whose wages were about forty dollars a year with food and lodging and perhaps a pair of boots thrown in, the stories were even more enticing. He would dream of saving his money and some day crossing the ocean, and perhaps, later on, sending for his younger brother or sister.

In central and southern Finland the farms are larger and the owners comparatively well-to-do. There, before the war, the vicious torppari system prevailed. A torppari was a tenant farmer who had leased a few acres of land. The rent he paid with his labor. Often he had to work three days

a week for no other compensation than the privilege of retaining his paltry acres. In some cases he even had to provide his own food while laboring on the owner's farm. His condition frequently became desperate. His brother in misery was the landless agricultural laborer, whether employed by the year, or merely engaged seasonally. The seasonally hired laborer was compelled to travel long distances to seek some addition to his "income" at timber cutting and floating. This opportunity for employment was very uncertain, and the wages were low.

The children of the torppari, the hired man, and the seasonal laborer all hoped to escape from their niggardly existence on the country side. They flocked into towns, competed for poorly paid factory jobs, or apprenticed themselves to craftsmen - tailors, bakers, carpenters, and so on - to work for five years without pay.

Ninety per cent of the Finnish pre-war immigrants (and there has been little immigration since the war) were from these groups - the small farmers in the North, the agricultural laborers and torpparis, and the skilled workers, often children of peasants, who had learned their trade in Helsingfors, Turku, Tampere, or some other Finnish town, and in a few cases in St. Petersburg.

The remaining ten per cent consists of ex-sailors, and of an occasional individual from the educated, well-to-do classes.

THE FINNS

Dances and GamesA. Dances

FEW SUR-
VIVALS OF
PRIMITIVE
DANCES

The polkas, mazurkas, waltzes, ba de spanjas, vingerkas, and various other dances known and loved by the Finnish country folk are of course of Slavic, Germanic, and Latin origin. Few of the primitive Finno-Ugrian dances survive. There are, however, two or three which date from incalculable antiquity.

THE FACE-
TO-FACE
DANCE

The face-to-face-dance is one of these. It begins in this fashion: The girls sit in clusters on the benches, often sitting on one another's lap; while the boys assemble at mid-floor. Two of the most important boys break from the assemblage, and begin to circle, one moving toward the door, the other toward the rear of the room; then each returns, until meeting his partner again at mid-floor. All the boys chant, with well-timed clapping of hands, there being no instrumental music for this particular dance. Presently other boys also begin to circle. Then the girls, usually betraying their impatience by giggles and swinging feet, have their turn. A boy walks to a girl and, bowing, asks her to join him. They swing with hands on each other's shoulders, some couples keeping near the door and others in the rear, until they all meet in a great swaying mass at mid-floor. The rhythmic stamping of feet is the only music.

THE FINNISH
RING-DANCE

The ring-dance is known, in some form, to all European

peoples; but the Finns have a variation of their own, which doubtless originated with their distant ancestry. The girls stand in the center of the room, and everybody sings:

"Like the birds in the forest flying
Are the maidens in this ring.
'Lir lirat!' birds and girls are
crying.
'Come and take me on the wing."

Then begins the frolicsome chase. Each lad is bound in honor to catch the girl he has brought with him in his sledge. Round and round the girls turn, in a futile attempt to escape the pursuing swains. One by one they are caught, then whirled off in an impromptu swing, to the tune of incessant singing.

These ancient dances are still occasionally revived by youthful revelers; but polkas and mazurkas are now universally favored, not to speak of the wolf-trot and the devil's round - those Finnish variations of modern dances. Fiddles scream and accordions blare, and men and girls swing their hips, snakily, not unlike the couples filling the dance halls of the great world. Primitive ceremony (which, of course, frequently gave way to terrifying riots, when home-made fire water burned in the veins of youth) has for the most part disappeared: the boys often grow nasty, especially when a boy from some particular village has been snubbed by

MODERN
DANCES
FAVORED BY
YOUTH

MANNERS
DETERIORAT-
ING

a girl from another village. On such occasions, insulting gestures and even more insulting songs are indulged in by modern hooligans. They will sing, for example, a song like this:

MODERN SONGS-
OF A QUALITY
VASTLY IN-
FERIOR TO
THAT OF THE
ANCIENT ONES

* When myself get back to Maki
I shall make a table,
Carving on it with a knife
This true and pretty fable.

Every Sanka village girl
Is overgrown and groggy.
In a dance she staggers like
A hobby-horse with buggy.

To the church the Sanka wench
Will walk in gaudy gear,
Yet she never rinses off
The black behind her ear.

Mighty are her ways and walk
And wonderfully vain -
Every crow in Maki has
A better back and brain.

If a man will marry her
He's rash and raving crazy,
Taking home with him a slut
That's lumpish, lame, and lazy.

And, the protectors of the girls usually rising to the occasion, an evening of dance may end in a more or less bloody scuffle - in which knives have been known to flash.

In American cities, the halls of the Finnish immigrants still, from time to time, ring with the songs of the old, old ring dance. The first generation immigrant

* A free translation of original songs, by the writer.

OLDEST FORMS
OF DANCE
OCCASIONALLY
REVIVED BY
FINNISH
IMMIGRANTS

is apt to feel a nostalgia for the amusements of his childhood. In the San Francisco Finnish Hall, on Flint St., one can even witness, though briefly, an occasional exhibition of the face-to-face-dance. But the middle-aged carpenters and tailors, and their wives, executing the steps of this hoary, time-worn romp, are doing it self-consciously, probably with a smirk of apology on their faces - that is, unless they are really caught by the spirit of the thing, as may happen once in a blue moon. The face-to-face dance must be short and sweet - for youth knocks at the proverbial door, youth impatient to return to its "music goes 'round and 'round."

CUSTOM SUR-
VIVALS AMONG
THE SECOND
GENERATION

Let no one think, however, that the influence of the old country and its ways is of no account in the behavior and caperings of the immigrants' children. In the Finnish Hall, the young people - though to all outward appearances they are typical Americans - go through various odd diversions whose origins are lost in ancient Finland. For example, the boys "feel" the girls - a curious gesture consisting of a swift manipulation of the front part of the girl's body, a gesture which in ordinary circumstances would seem somewhat obscene, but which, when done with the swaggering, inconsequential and unembarrassed celerity which the Finnish-American youngster has learned from his old world kinsmen, appears merely whimsical, though perhaps

audaciously whimsical. Then there is the noisy, concerted whoop - differing in tone and execution from the whoops of other nationalities - with which the young Finns express their displeasure at bad acting on the stage of the amusement hall. This whoop, beginning with a slow, throaty sound, and swelling in volume until it fills the hall, cannot be described in words; it must be heard.

As for the dances in general, the old country born Finn takes pride in his mastery of the American ways of dancing. He fox-trots and two-steps with ponderous solemnity, which is a source of unflinching amusement to the younger generation. But his heart is not in it: it is only when the orchestra plays a schottische, a waltz, or a mad polka that the serious, care-worn countenances of the stoutish, middle-aged couples light with the joy of life.

At times, the younger generation, the real Finnish-Americans, join in the old-fashioned dances - and besides the Finns themselves, there are often present people of other nationalities: "Anglo-Saxons," Czechs, Irish, and even Italians. Thus, dances peculiarly Finnish (including the ring-dance and the face-to-face) become more or less familiar to other groups; and, while the influence doubtless is very small, it is conceivable that the Finn-Ugrian element subtly contributes to the modern dance.

OTHER NATIONAL-
ALITIES
PRESENT AT
FINNISH
DANCES

• B. Games

Present day Finns are, of course, famous for their athletic prowess. Their Olympic laurels are many. The history of the sports and games of Finland would fill volumes. The Kalevala has references to dozens of peculiar games, many of which have been forgotten. Description of sports and games hardly comes into the scope of the present work. But certain ones have been introduced in America by the Finnish immigrants. One of these is "finger pulling," which is popular among the Finns in the United States, and which has been adopted by other nationalities.

Finger pulling matches are held annually, after the harvest. The game is very simple: no implement is needed, except those provided by nature. Each contestant simply grasps the middle finger of his opponent, and pulls. When well matched, a pair may stand as though rooted to a spot for several minutes - neither man budes, though their faces are growing purplish red. The spectators halt breathing. Suddenly there is a roar: one of the pullers has budged ... and he keeps on budging, inch by bitter inch, until his face, puffed as if ready to burst, bends over the victorious one. The fingers still remain hooked, but the loser's finger gradually straightens -

MODERN FINNS
KNOWN FOR
THEIR
PROWESS IN
ATHLETICS

PECULIAR
GAMES
INTRODUCED
HERE BY
FINNISH
IMMIGRANTS

FINGER-
PULLING

for the referee has commanded him to stand still and let his finger either hold or give way to the one encircling it. Finally the loser's arm drops; and everyone recovers his breath.

BEAR- PULLING

Bear-pulling matches are no longer held, save perhaps in some very remote parts of Kareala. But in former times they were fairly common. Bear trainers used to travel all over the country, giving exhibitions. These took place in the living rooms on winter nights. A pulling match was arranged as a matter of course - though the bear always, absolutely always, emerged as victor. A stout cudgel was found, and a thick plank set edgewise on the floor. On a signal, the bear took his place on one side, grasping the cudgel with its forepaws, while two men sat down at the ends of the plank, holding the cudgel on either side of the bear's paws.

"Ready!" snapped the trainer.

Pressing their feet on the plank, the men took the initiative. They pulled hard, and yet no movement was discerned by the onlookers: the bear, with a devilish grin on its face, held its position as though rooted to the floor. The men pulled harder, with no effect. Of a sudden the bear stuck out its tongue with an air of

derision; then gave one easy pull, and the men swung into the air, made a sommersault over the plank, and landed on either side of their opponent.

A POPULAR
STORY OF
A BEAR
PULLING
MATCH

One of the most popular stories told by older Finnish immigrants is about a man named Antti who defeated a big brown bear single-handed in a pulling match. It appears that the bear, lying on the floor, showed signs of thirst; and Antti generously offered to lead it to water in an adjoining room, where stood receptacles of water, as well as buckets of whisky and barrels of ale. The bear followed Antti docilely enough; and the people heard it drinking the water and smacking its lips. They made three trips to that side room. Presently Antti began to boast that he could actually beat the bear in a match. The trainer laughed.

ANTTI
BOASTS THAT
HE CAN
DEFEAT THE
BEAR SINGLE-
HANDED

"If that is what you think, young sir," he said, "the bear be ready for you any time. But I have seen many a strong man, and never anybody to beat a bear yet."

ANTTI IS
WARNED
AGAINST
TRYING TO
BEAT THE
BEAR, BUT
HE REMAINS
STUBBORN

"Don't be giving yourself to that foolishness, Antti lad," an old uncle of the young man advised, with profound conviction.

But Antti was not to be swerved. He stood, his six feet of young flesh, bone, and gristle, erectly towering over the bear sitting at mid-floor. (At this point, there are several variations in the story, as it is told

in different parts of the country, the most popular version being that which relates how Antti made a big wager with his cousin, Nikko, a rival to the hand of a beautiful young girl - and how he, Antti, finally won the girl, despite his chicanery.) The bear himself lay resting on the floor, blinking its eyes. The trainer kicked it lightly, saying:

"Oho, old fellow, you will have easy sport."

Amid the dubious murmurs of the crowd, the preparations were made, and Antti faced the bear whose forepaws held the cudgel. He tightened his lips, rubbed his palms together, laid his soles firmly on the plank, and grasped the cudgel.

BEGINNING OF THE MATCH

"Ready!" snapped the trainer.

Was this to be a repetition of the swing in which the two other men opposing the bear earlier in the evening, had been the playthings of the great beast? It looked like it. Antti pulled, harder and harder he pulled, and the stick did not move. Antti's neck-veins went purple and red in his valiant effort, and the big bear sat there like a relentless stamp, without life and without motion. Then a wave-like "Ah!" went through the crowd. The bear had stuck out its tongue! It would be a matter

THE CRISIS

of a second or two now when Antti would rise gaily in the air ... But wait - a crazy thing was taking place. The bear was pulling, pulling, while its eyes rolled so that the whites came in front, as though the animal were fainting with some tremendous strain - and the stick did not move.

"pull, Antti, pull! pull! pull!" a little brother of the bear's opponent cried, beside himself with excitement.

Antti pulled, while little by little the bear leaned forward, like one in a state of utter exhaustion, until, to the amazement of the onlookers, it fell like a dead carcass before Antti, who had barely enough time to remove his feet from under - and lay there, its red tongue lolling, its breath going and coming, in the rhythmic, sawing rumble of deep sleep.

The trainer abruptly gave vent to a resonant laugh.

"You did it, young sir," said he. (At this point some versions tell how the trainer winked at the young girl for whose hand Antti fought with his cousin, Mikko.)

But Antti's father and his old uncle turned their weary step toward the side room where Antti had led the bear for a drink of water. They suspected that a bucketful of whisky had found its way into the stomach of the bear.

ANTTI IS
VICTORIOUS

ANTTI'S
CHIC NERY
SUSPECTED

The Finnish Bath

In San Francisco there are four Finnish bath houses open to the public. To a considerable number of people of various nationalities in the city the Finnish bath (sauna) is a San Francisco institution. In all its important features, in its simplicity, the sauna utterly differs from the Turkish bath. Its essence is steam, and more steam, generated by heated stones.

The origins of this curious sauna are incalculably old. Yet a sauna on, let us say, Market street, a sauna of comparatively great size and of imposing grandeur, is in principle quite similar to one reposing on the Finnish countryside. The Americanization of the sauna has made it bigger, more complex, more elaborate in appearance, flashier, so to speak, but intrinsically it remains unaltered.

In order to understand the transplanted sauna, it is necessary to know something of the character--one is almost tempted to say, the informing spirit--of its model in old Finland.

From time immemorial the Finns have been devotees of the steam bath. In Kalewala, that great and ancient epic, there are many references to the sauna. In Finland bathing is not only a process of cleansing the body: it is also a dignified ritual. The remote districts still contain people given to mixed bathing. On other occasions the unspoiled type of Finnish woman carefully avoids the exposure of any part of her person except the face, hands and feet; but preparatory to bathing she thinks nothing of undressing, completely, in the presence of men, because then the purpose is simply bathing. The intention, not the act itself, is what matters to her (as it does to the Japanese woman). The custom of mixed bathing is disappearing in the more thickly populated areas, but even there a woman, though not often a young woman, is present in the bath house to soap and wash the hair and the backs of the men bathers.

In old times the sauna was considered the supreme remedy for all diseases (and among the simpler people this belief survives to this day). At some remote period whisky began to compete, though not very seriously, for the honor. Hence

the saying: "If sauna and whisky don't help you, it is God's will that you must die."

Many older people still remember the words of the bath-chant which used to be recited in the living room before the family started for the bath house. The following is a rough attempt at a translation of a stanza from this chant:

And the steam is ripe and ready,
Sweetly simmering and sizzling.
Whosoever wants to wallow
In that hotly heated heaven
Now must bare his back and belly.

At the conclusion of this chant each person--man, woman and child--would undress in the living room and then, naked, run across the yard to sauna.

As for the bath houses themselves, in the country districts the new ones are similar to those built several hundred years ago. And many a sauna in use today is actually two or even three hundred years old.

In my childhood, most of which was spent in a country village, our own little bath house on the shore of Alake seemed to me a structure of peculiar distinction. The round timbers of its aged walls were untouched by paint, the small slabs of granite constituting its square chimney had felt no touch of chisel. On a tiny knoll, jutting into fair depth of water, it stood, curiously like some old fort defying the world of post-offices, railways, and new imported ways and sins. Its interior was exactly like that of thousands of other saunas throughout Finland: there was a square oven made of granite, with a pile of round stones on top of it; a platform alongside the oven was built of logs hewn by expert ax-men several generations before. The bathers climbed up to the platform, each carrying a bath-whisk (vihta), made in the summer of green, leafy birch branches, tied together with twisted saplings. First the whisks were piled on the hummock of hot round stones on top of the oven, then water was thrown on them, and with a loud detonating sizzle, the

whole place was filled with sweet steam. One by one the bathers, whose skins now shone with the heat, took the whisks and slapped and slapped themselves, back and front, in the clouds of steam. More water was thrown on the stones, which hissed spurting the vapor. Frequently it grew altogether too hot for ^{of} most/the folk. They would scamper down, one by one, until perhaps a solitary hero was left up there slapping his steaming chest, with display of great endurance. On the main floor, as well as on the platform, stood buckets of water: before leaving, everyone thoroughly soaped and washed himself, some woman of the family being usually at hand to assist.

In winter the hardier ones rolled naked in the snow following the bath. In summer all of us used to run directly from the steamy platform and dive into the cold water of the lake. I never heard of any mishaps resulting from this practice.

In the later part of the nineteenth century bathing-matches were still common. The competitors would apply for inclusion weeks before the great event. At a signal from the village master of ceremonies (usually the blacksmith or some other skilled craftsman), each man would receive his vihta on the platform, while water was being steadily thrown on the steam-stones. He was obliged immediately to begin beating himself with the vihta and continue to do so as long as possible. A man no longer capable of swinging his whisk was declared out, even though he might contrive to stay on the platform. He whose whisk was last seen in motion was the winner. A girl chosen from the most skillful water-throwers of the village, stood below in front of the oven holding a dipper which she filled regularly from a huge wooden vessel. But toward the finish the men themselves usually had to throw the water, for during these contests the heat grew so great, so hellish that few women could stay even on the main-floor, but had to leave the entire room in possession of the human salamanders above, wresting glory from a defiance of the terrible, scalding steam. The champions were greatly honored. I remember

my grandfather often speaking of a certain famous "Bath-Yaska", a relentless and tough-skinned bather, who had for almost a generation held the title of the county.

us

Even among the first generation Finns in America the memory of these legendary exploits is by no means dead. In the nature of things, the Finnish immigrant yearns for his sauna. Many have been built all over the United States. The first one in San Francisco was established twenty-seven years ago. The man who built it is now the owner and manager of a large public sauna, accommodating hundreds of people every week. It is a well-known fact in Finland that almost every foreigner on a prolonged visit to the country will, despite initial misgivings, grow to enjoy, if not to love, the Finnish bath. In San Francisco the number of non-Finnish patrons of the four saunas is steadily growing. At the beginning the visitors to the first sauna on upper Market Street were almost entirely Finns. Soon, however, others began to drop in. And now the four saunas serve a cosmopolitan clientele, a large portion of which is made up of regular "Americans." Business men, artisans, laborers, gamblers, retired oldsters of both sexes, habitually visit the Finnish steam baths. A seventy-year-old billiard fancier even told me that his physician had prescribed steam baths, Finnish style. He assured me that the sauna was indeed the best remedy for whatever it was that ailed him. Thus, surprisingly, the immemorial belief in the efficacy of sauna is beginning to reappear--in the midst of a highly-developed, mechanized civilization.

What of the ceremonies preceding the taking of a metropolitan Finnish bath? To be sure, there are no chants, no running barefooted and otherwise naked across a snowy yard. Yet there is a certain amount of ritual. You enter an ante-room. A fair-haired girl sitting behind a desk receives your entrance fee, giving you a bath-ticket. In another room you are handed soap and towels--unless you have brought your own. It is now time you separate from your wife, or other female companion, if any. You enter the

men's side. When at last you stand stripped, in a narrow dressing room, you walk to a door which leads you to the inner sanctum, the sauna itself. There the oven is very huge and very modern; the water on the steam-stones, which lamentably are invisible, is applied by turning a spigot. Instead of one platform, there is a series of them, an ascending series. On these, steaming, perspiring men are lolling, each with his individual water bucket, and perhaps with a large sponge instead of a birch-whisk (the latter being rarely available). The room being very lofty, you are at liberty to choose the degree of heat suitable to your desires and capacity. The lowest platform is pleasantly warm, the one nearest the ceiling is fiendishly hot; those in between vary according to their position. It appears that most of those lolling in the heights are first generation Finns, many of these retaining their pride as regards steam-capacity, steam-endurance. Though English and Finnish are most prevalent, you may hear half a dozen languages spoken by men steaming themselves on the platforms.

Of course there are several first generation Finns in San Francisco who seldom or never enter one of these saunas, and many of the youngsters, American born, actually scorn the Finnish bath. But it is probable that the majority of old country Finns in the city visit a sauna at least once a month. Stories of incidents in the baths are frequently heard in Finnish gatherings, with both men and women present (for the Finnish woman is usually far less squamish as regards a risqué yarn than his Anglo-Saxon sister); but most of these are too modern, too well "Americanized," to bear repetition. A certain measure of pride in the sauna persists among the older people. Some never grow tired of repeating their belief that the sauna is superior to all other forms of bathing. The increasing number of non-Finnish sauna lovers is referred to with pride, now and again, in Finnish homes. Many are prophesying that steam baths, Finnish fashion, will ultimately supersede the Turkish bath and all other forms of specialized baths. These wistful prophets are apt to

hint to their scornful children and grandchildren that the coming generations of Finns in America, who will perhaps have forgotten their very origins, will again bless the sauna ... thus willy-nilly reaffirming the bath-wisdom of their distant forebears.

Subject to additions and revision -- and blue pencil

The Finnish Bath

There are in San Francisco four Finnish bath houses open to the public. To many people the Finnish bath is a San Francisco institution. It differs in all important respects from the Turkish bath. Its essence is steam, and more steam, generated by heated stones.

The origin of the Finnish bath (sauna) are incalculably old. Kalevala, the national epic, has several references to the sauna, and in fact the custom of steam bathing is so old among the Finns that no one knows when it began. Formerly men and women used to bathe together--the Finnish peasant woman thought nothing of undressing in the presence of men so long as the purpose was merely bathing, though under any other circumstances she was careful not to expose any part of her person, except her face and hands. The custom of mixed bathing is now disappearing, but in remote districts it still goes on. The sauna used to be thought the supreme remedy for all diseases. There was a saying: "If saunas and whisky don't help, it is God's will that you must die."

The bath houses themselves are still similar to those used hundreds of years ago. I spent most of my childhood in a small Finnish village and our bath house was at least two hundred years old. Its interior was exactly like that of hundreds of others throughout the country. There was a square platform, reached by a stepladder. Alongside of this was an oven built of granite, and on top of the oven were several round stones, a goodly number of them. The bathers climbed up to the platform, each carrying a bath-chair (viikari), made in summer of green birch branches tied together by twisted saplings. The chairs were piled on

the pile of round stones, then water was thrown on them, and instantly the whole place was filled with sweet steam. The bathers then took the whisks and beat their bodies with them in the hot steam. More water was thrown on the stones, and soon it grew too hot for most of the folk. They clambered down, usually leaving but one hardy soul on the platform-- someone who wished to make an impression, to display unusual endurance.

In the winter the harder ones rolled in snow right after the bath; and all of us children and young people used to jump, in the summer time, into the nearby lake to cool off.

In old times bathing matches were common. Several men enrolled, and each one was supposed to swing his whisk as long as possible. The whose whisk was last seen in motion was declared the winner. The champions were greatly honored. My grandfather often spoke of a certain famous "Bath-Taska," a relentless and tough-skinned bather, who had held the championship of our country for almost a generation.

These things are by no means forgotten among the first generation Finns in America. Naturally enough, the Finnish immigrant longs for his sanna. Many have been built all over the United States. In San Francisco the first one was built over thirty years ago. The man who established it is now the owner and manager of a large public bath house, Finnish style; and this accommodates hundreds of bathers each week.

It is a well-known fact in Finland that almost every foreigner on a prolonged visit to the country will, despite initial misgivings, grow to enjoy, if not to love, the Finnish bath. In San Francisco the number of non-Finnish patrons of the four public sannas is steadily growing. At the beginning the customers of the first sanna on upper Market Street were all Finns; but soon others began to drop in. Now the four bath houses have a large "clientele" of all nationalities. A large proportion

is made up of "regular" Americans. Business men, artisans, laborers, gamblers, retired soldiers of both sexes, habitually visit the Finnish steam baths. A seventy-year-old billiard fancier even told me that his physician had prescribed steam baths, Finnish style. And he assured me that the sauna was proving the best remedy for whatever it was that ailed him. Thus, surprisingly, the immemorial belief in the efficacy of sauna is being revived in the midst of our complex, commercialized civilization.

In entering a metropolitan Finnish bath house, you first encounter a fair-haired girl sitting behind a desk. She collects your entrance fee, and gives you a bath ticket. In another room you are handed towels and sponges and soap--unless you have brought your own. It is now time that you separate from your wife, or other female companion, if any. You enter the men's side. Then at last you stand stripped, in a narrow dressing-room, you walk to a door which leads to the inner sanctum, the sauna itself. Here the oven is very large and very modern: the water on the stone stones, which are, lamentably enough, invisible, is applied by turning a spout. Instead of one platform, there is a series of them, an ascending series. On these, sweating, perspiring men are rolling, each with his individual water bucket and with a large sponge instead of a birch whisk (the latter being rarely available). The room is very lofty. You are at liberty to choose the degree of heat suitable to your desires and capacity. The lowest platform is nicely warm, the highest one fiendishly hot: those in between vary according to their elevation. It appears that most of those rolling on the heights are first generation Finns, many of them retaining their pride as renowned steam capacity. English and Finnish are most prevalent, but you may hear half a dozen

languages spoken by men talking on these platforms.

There are several first generation Finns in San Francisco who seldom or never enter one of these saunas. And many of the youngsters born in America actually scorn the Finnish bath, and are slightly ashamed of it. But probably the majority of old country Finns in the city visit a sauna at least once a month. Stories of incidents in the baths are frequently heard in Finnish gatherings, with both men and women present (the older Finnish woman is far less squeamish than her Anglo-Saxon sister toward a risqué story), but most of these too modern, too well Americanized, to bear repetition. A certain measure of pride in the sauna is superior to all other specialized forms of bathing, such as the Turkish bath. Others prophesy that steam baths, Finnish fashion, will be immensely popular in years to come. These distant prophets are apt to hint to their children and grandchildren that the coming generations, who will perhaps have forgotten their very origins, will again bless the goodness of sauna ... thus silly-silly reaffirming the bath wisdom of their distant forbears.

THE FINNS

Marriage Customs

PRELIMINARIES:

BUNDLING OR
LYING IN

Some two generations ago, a custom similar to the New England "bundling" still prevailed in all outlying districts of Finland. In the summer, when many a girl slept alone in a luhti (milk house) out on the field, a young man would approach the girl of his choice with strict adherence to the ceremony, a description of which follows.

First he rapped with a long birch rod a second-floor window of the luhti wherein the girl was supposed to be asleep. After rapping three times, he called out:

"Do you hear anything at all?"

The girl did not answer, for custom prescribed silence on her part. The young man continued rapping, and presently he recited in a sing-song:

"Kick the covers to the feet,
Kick up to the ceiling your sleep.
Lay your foot on the floor,
Put your hand on the door,
And let us meet."

There was no reply even yet; and he said:

"Why are all the girls so proud now that they won't get up to meet a lonely man from the village near by? I am an honorable man, hear me, hear me!"

It was time to reply, and she called out:

"Hullo, Hullo!"

"And will you be leaving your bed?" the man demanded, "Surely it's not much trouble to come and see what a boy wants out here in the night, is it?"

"No, no trouble, to be sure," said the girl.

"And you have done more than that before, have you not? You're coming then, eh?"

By this time the girl had left her bed, and was usually peeping out to see that he was doing everything in proper fashion.

"Good evening to you," she would say, timidly.

"Good evening to yourself. What's going on inside there?"

"I am sleeping, that's all."

"And no sleepy boy there with you, eh?"

"No, no wicked sweetheart here."

"And you will let me in, won't you?"

"Oh, I don't know."

"But you must."

"Oh, I will then."

She would open the door of the upper story, and would stand there in her white petticoat and vest. He threw away the birch rod, then climbed up the ladder. But before he reached the door, she turned her back to him; and jumped into bed, pulling the quilt up to her chin.

If this happened to be the first visit, the girl would show a great deal of embarrassment -- either feigned, or, if the girl lacked knowledge of the secrets of "lying in," quite real.

He would now be leaning over the bed looking at her, perhaps a little dubiously, as though uncertain of his welcome. But custom was custom, and, she having moved toward the wall, he would jump into bed, lying down beside her, but so that there was a heavy quilt between them. He would wear his breeches and a heavy undershirt, of course.

All night they would be lying thus, exchanging banter at first, and then sleeping -- always at a proper distance from one another. Should he, by any chance, begin to lose his self-control, she would

spring up, ready to bolt preventing any attempt at an embrace. However, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, he kept his senses and lay docilely on his own pillow.

STRICT OB-
SERVANCE OF
PRELIMINARIES
TO MARRIAGE

The manner of betrothal and the wedding ceremonies differed greatly in different parts of the country; but everywhere a "spokesman" was employed by the young man or by his father. The spokesman made the arrangements with the bride's parents; and following this the bridegroom made a formal call and left presents. All this was done, of course, with proper understanding of the merely routine nature of the undertaking. The spokesman, the bridegroom and the bride, while acting with due solemnity, knew that they were only fooling, so to speak, since each knew beforehand what the other was going to say. They were merely following customs that were centuries old, and which added a certain amount of grace and enjoyment to the business of getting married.

WEDDING

1. THE AR-
RIVAL OF THE
BRIDE AND
GROOM

In eastern Finland the wedding itself was more elaborate than in the western part. The festivities, lasting an entire week, generally took place at the home of the bridegroom. On the first day, when the bride and groom, with their party, arrived from church, the members of the family who had stayed home, greeted them in the yard. A brother, or some other near relative of the groom, recited the run of welcome:

* "Welcome, moon and stars of evening,
Welcome, well-made wife and husband.
As the miser waits for new moon,
As the sledges wait for new snow,
So a brother waits for brother
Bringing home his bride beloved.

"Waiting weary at the window,
Older folks their eyes have strained,
And the shining shoes of younglings
Swift and nimble steps have taken
To the gate to see you coming.
Cows were wooing, cats meowing,
And the little lambs were bleating,
Pining for the pretty bride.

"Listen, moon and stars of evening.
Harken, brother's dear and darling.
Welcome to our house and hearthstone.

"Brother, lift your lovel burden!"

Then the brother would spread a blanket on the snow, the bridegroom would lift his bride from the sledge, and kneeling on the blanket the newly-weds would recite the Lord's Prayer.

2. THE EN-
TRANCE INTO
THE NEW HOME
OF THE BRIDE

The entrance into the house was done with much elaborate ceremony, including the recital of several runos. When at last the pair was admitted, some kinswoman of the bride usually grasped the bridegroom's coat tail, with the intention of having the bride sit on it. If the bride did sit on the coat tail, she would thenceforward have a certain power over her husband; but if she missed it, she would be completely controlled by him -- according to the superstitious old women. The veil which the bride had worn ever since leaving church, was now removed, and everyone inspected her, making appropriate comment.

3. THE
BRIDE IN-
SPECTED

"Heaven's king!" some old woman would exclaim. "She's as seemly as a fresh berry!"

"Look," some wag might cry out, "the bridegroom is as white as the flesh of turnip -- and he'll die before his bride surely."

"And you, old rickety," someone else would retort, "do you think you are going to live forever?"

4. SUPPER,
BATHING AND
DANCING

Presently the supper would be ready -- a bountiful one, with plenty of home-made liquor for everybody. Afterwards, the bridal couple would go the steam baths; and the rest of the night would be spent dancing and reveling.

After six days of festivity, the couple would at last be put to bed in a separate room, with much comment and ceremonious observation.

5. PUTTING
THE BRIDAL
COUPLE TO
BED

The bed, for instance, was usually tested by some old man; and not until he pronounced it sturdy enough would the bride be allowed to enter it. When at last she was in bed, under a cover, the groom was told to lie down at her side. Then some old man would take certain articles of clothing belonging to the newly-weds, slap the walls with them, saying:

"Lads and lassies, an equal number of both."

At last the pair was left alone, the door being locked by the mother of the family -- who would again enter at midnight, with food for the midnight supper of the young man and wife. By this time the guests had departed, and the wedding was over.

WEDDING A
TREMENDOUS
OCCASION TO
ALL FINNS

In western Finland the ceremonies were much less elaborate; but even there they were far from simple. And to this day the Finnish wedding is a tremendous occasion. Even among the immigrants in the United States, the festivities often last two or three days (about this, more later). To a Finn, the words "wedding" and "Christmas" mean celebration on the largest possible scale.

THE FINNSFood and Drink

RYE BREAD,
CHIEF AR-
TICLE OF
FOOD--
AND ITS
PREPARATION

The most important item in the daily fare of the Finnish peasant is rye bread. In Eastern Finland the housewife bakes it fresh every day; but throughout the western and northern sections, it is baked only two or three times a year. The round loaves, with a hole in the middle, are put to dry on long poles, set horizontally on the rafters of the living-room. Within a week the bread is dry and hard enough to be eaten; the mistress takes a loaf and breaks it by striking it across her knee, and piles the jagged pieces on a wooden platter, from which the diners help themselves. The next article of importance is the potato--usually eaten boiled. Salt fish is also found on the table of every peasant, and the poorer people utilize, too, the bitterly salty water in the fish barrel--by dipping their bread and potatoes in it. Practically all fresh milk is either sent to the dairies or churned at home. Butter has to be sold--for cash is necessary for the obtaining of salt fish. Buttermilk, of course, is drunk at home. Many curious baked sihes are made of barley and oats. Meat is a rarity. On the day of slaughter--occurring regularly in the more well-to-do farm circles--blood cakes are made, and tripe stew, and headcheese, but the cuts of meat are

POTATOES
AND SALT
FISH

FRESH MILK
AND
BUTTER
CLASSED AS
LUXURIES.
MEAT
LIKEWISE

sent to town. Eggs, butter, fresh milk, and a steak are thought of with a certain measure of wistful awe, and served only to sick people--except on special occasions, such as holidays, weddings, or funerals.

THE
DRINKING
TUB

The long, wooden table in every living-room is never without its wooden tub, with polished handles, containing kalja (a drink, ordinarily non-alcoholic, made of malt). The tub is always kept filled. The hired man walks in, lifts the tub, buries his face in it, and drinks deep. When finally he sets it down and wipes his dripping mustach, the same tub will be picked up by the daintiest woman member of the family, who quenches her thirst, with no disgusted realization that she is drinking the remnants of a mustache bath. For holidays, the kalja is brewed into a more or less intoxicating sort of ale. In old times, whisky also was made at home; but during the last fifty years, home distilling has been illegal (and for that matter, Finland, as well as the United States, unsuccessfully experimented for a few years with Prohibition, which was repealed some four years ago). Coffee is the favorite beverage of the Finnish woman; though it is never drunk with meals. In the hut of even the poorest agricultural laborer, the coffee pot is kept hot all day long; and every two hours or so, the women of the household, when not out in the field, enjoy a cupful or more.

WHISKY
NO LONGER
MADE AT
HOME

COFFEE
A GREAT
FAVORITE

PRIMITIVE
EATING
CUSTOMS
STILL
SURVIVE

Gradually the primitive ways of dining are disappearing in those farming sections that are near the towns; but in remoter parts of the country there has been little or no change. Let us

attend a formal dinner party in a backwoods village. The dinner (or, properly speaking, the supper) is in honor of some visitor, or perhaps it celebrates the return of a prodigal son.

THE SPOKESMAN

First of all, there must be an official spokesman, a sort of master of ceremonies. In this instance, the spokesman is the village blacksmith, with the gift of gab. He sits at the end of the table beside the master of the house, and is perhaps caressing the handle of his eating knife, a handle elaborately carved, and of pearl-gray color. On the master's right sits the guest of honor, provided with a wooden spoon and another beautiful knife. The rest of the diners are seated according to age--a grandfather, say, sits next to the blacksmith, and the younger hired men and girls sit farthest from the master.

SEATING THE DINERS

SIGNAL FOR THE HYMN

When all are seated, there is a moment of profound, expectant silence; then the blacksmith straightens his torso, with the slow dignity of corporeal pride, lays the palm of his right hand on the table, and says:

"Let us sing."

Whereupon everybody rises; and the spokesman leads the singing of a hymn.

REMNANTS OF MAGIC

When this is done, and the diners have sat down, some older may mumble an incantation (for instance, one like this: "Ukko, ultimate unity, God of good and God of evil ..."), for the pagan beliefs in magic still linger, despite the fact that Christianity

was forced upon the Finns eight hundred years ago.

BREAD
AND SALT
GIVEN TO
GUEST OF
HONOR

The master now cuts a small piece of mutton (or beef or pork, or whatever the meat happens to be on this occasion), puts it on a piece of bread, sprinkles salt on it; and then passes it to the guest of honor, who eats it slowly, this being the custom.

THE
MEAL
BEGINS

Next the master hands a whisky bottle to the guest of honor and the blacksmith (the spokesman) in turn; the mistress of the house handing a similar bottle, containing milder whisky, to the woman sitting next to her. Not until every man, woman, and child has taken a sip, does the meal begin. Eventually the master cuts large pieces of the quarter of mutton, and distributes them among the occupants of his end of the table. Then the huge platter containing the meat is passed to the other end, where the hired men, with their sheath-knives, serve themselves, the hired girls, and such older children as are allowed to be present.

THE GRAND
FATHER'S
KEG OF ALE

THE
SPEECH

Invariably, after a few mouthfuls, the oldest man of the family draws the cork from a keg of ale, which has stood in front of him, and mumbles another incantation. Then he passes the keg to the guest of honor. The latter, having drunk, hands the keg to the blacksmith, who is now ready for his speech. He speaks, of course, in accordance with the nature of the occasion. If the guest of honor be young and unmarried, the spokesman insists that he make a choice of the marriageable girls of the village and settle down; if,

on the other hand, the honored person be an old man, the speaker praises his real or imaginary achievements, and expresses a wish that the dignitary may long remain in the land of the living, to the joy and profit of his fellowmen.

No one moves while the speech goes on; but the aroma of smoked mutton, with a hint of fragrant birch leaves, titillates nostrils; the sour cream in deep pans is caressed by hungry eyes. When at last the speaker sits down, the knives descent in simultaneous attack on savory slabs of meat; the spoons are picked up and conveyed into pans, from which they turn loaded with creamy, delicious stuff. Supposing the guest of honor is someone returned from America. What are his thoughts? His gaze may happen to wander on a younger sister of his, who has, let us say, grown into a comely lass during his absence. He sees a wooden spoon disappearing with incredible speed between a pair of rosy lips, and after a quick return, the spoon is whisked back into the cream pan where it collides with someone else's spoon. In her left hand, the girl is holding a piece of rye bread, presently replaced by a chunk of mutton, from which her teeth, keen and glossy with the whiteness of ivory, take a clean bite. No doubt there is a certain element of fresh loveliness in all this--but the erstwhile American is apt to stare with fascinated horror rather than with esthetic enjoyment.... When, against his desire, he forces himself to pick up his own spoon he observes that the cake-like area of cream in the pan nearest to him is being invaded by four or five other spoons, each of which has made

DISPLAY OF
HEALTHY
APPETITE

STRANGER
IN A
DIFFICULTY

a hole in it. The holes are growing larger with alarming rapidity, until the one made with his (the newcomer's) spoon, merges with its neighbors. Another spell of relentless attack, and the spoons have completed their work, leaving only a tiny, sloping pyramid in the center of the pan. Even this is instantly scooped up by someone; and the distressed guest of honor hears on either side of him sighs of profound enjoyment.

Meanwhile, a hired girl has risen and gone for the porridge. Now the master rises again, and passes the whisky bottle; and the blacksmith makes another speech, but a much shorter one--usually confining himself to proposing a sort of toast.

Then grandfather's keg of ale journeys up and down the table. The faces are growing slightly redder.

Presently the porridge arrives, each of the three or four huge bowls having in its center a big lump of golden-colored butter, rapidly melting. The spoons descend into the hot porridge, and then continue their travel up to center where the butter has completely melted. As many as five spoons, with white cargoes, meet at the yellow fountain, dive gracefully, and even jostle one another, like wine glasses meeting in a merry toast. On such an occasion, the backwoodsman and his womenfolk display not wolfish gorge but a tremendous relish for food and a great capacity for enjoying themselves.

On weddings and funerals, the more well-to-do go to great

TOAST
PROPOSED

ALE
AGAIN

END OF
SUPPER

lengths in providing a feast. The table looks like an enormous picnic board. Odors of smoked port, with a hint of strong coffee, of fresh barley cake, of delectable curdled milk waft from the table and the oven. And there is also the spicy smell of stockfish, a great rarity brought from town, to be eaten with thick white sauce made of milk, flour, and white pepper.

Stockfish, by the way, is brought to every home, with a mark or two to spend, for Christmas. It comes in hard, dry slabs, which must be soaked in a barrel of water for several days and then boiled for hours before it is fit to eat. On Christmas Eve it is lifted steaming from the kettle, and its odor, delicious to Finnish nostrils, spells holiday, celebration, joy.

GREAT
FEASTING
AT WEDDINGS
AND FUNERALS

STOCKFISH
FOR
CHRISTMAS

U
Finn
Project 1696-1

Supervisor Moreland

Gordon McWhirter

December 9, 1935.

1. Finnish calendar and customs
2. Informants: Oiva Nurmela, and friends
Miss Mork (daughter of Walter Mork,
Berkeley Councilman and
Finnish leader)
Walter Mork
Miss Rinni, (daughter of leader of
Finnish cultural society)
3. This report about 900-1000 words
4. Prepared during Dec. 2-6 alone with special
report on "Leisure time or workers" submitted
separately.

Gordon McWhirter

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December 9, 1935.

History of Folklore

Finnish customs

Days of the week: The names of the days of the week are taken from old German with the exception of Friday (~~Per-jantie~~ jantie) the meaning of which the informant did not know.

More information on the calendar:

New~~y~~ Year's Day: The New Year is typically ushered in, in Finland, with universal silence at midnight, contrasting with the hilarity typical of this country. There is no carnival spirit. At midnight thousands will gather in the public square to hear civic leaders orate and Lutheran ministers pray. There may be a concert. All church bells peal and the whole atmosphere is one of solemnity

Midsummer (June 24 or 25): For three or four days there is no night in this northern country at the summer solstice. The midsummer is celebrated generally with large community picnics. On the shores of lakes (there are 53,000 lakes in Finland) the people gather to pay and sing around huge bonfires. There is dancing and music on the accordian, which is more or less the national instrument of the Finns. Coffee and food is served, the latter being the typical voileipa pöyta or butter-bread - the Swedish smorgasbord.

Project 1696-1

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December 9, 1936

A new year custom: tin or solder is melted and the molten ~~metal~~ metal poured into cold water. From the mold, that is from the various shapes the metal takes as it solidifies, one's fortune may be told. This is a very old custom and is used the country over. Many Finns continue it in this country. My informant, a university girl and member of the English Club at U.C., who came to this country when very young, had herself only given up the custom a year or so ago.

Midsummer: The local Finns celebrate midsummer on the Sunday closest to the correct day (economic determinism!) It is a much milder affair than in the old country and is really but an opportunity for the Finnish colony to come together for a picnic and outdoor excursion. In the evening a concert and dance may very likely be held in their Finnish Brotherhood Hall. Midsummer, is of course, a ~~general~~ more or less universal holiday, but Scandinavians and Finns seem to make as much or more of it than others.

Kesa juhla (Spring festival): Here called Summer festival and celebrated about July 1 (!) with picnic, dance, concert. Not much information available on this yet.

Project 1696-1

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Easter: In Finland all are supposed to go to church for long hours of Lutheran sermons. The Lutheran Church is, of course, practically the only church in Finland. There are a few communicants of the Russian Church but in many cases the Greek Cathedrals are being used as Lutheran churches. Informant knew of no Roman Catholic churches in Finland but I believe there are a few R.C. communicants.

A feature of Easter for the Finns is a special Easter Pudding. This is baked from rye meal and water and served with fresh cream and while not so very tasty is highly prized and is indulged in by the most "Americanized" of Finns. The significance of this dish I have not been able yet to ascertain. It would seem to me to have some ascetic background!!!

Christmas: In the old country Christmas day meant at least two hours in church. Christmas trees are used with paper decorations. The paper decorations are an economy measure because there are no Woolworth stores!!! Gifts are hung on the Christmas tree. It would all seem to be a very normal Christmas celebration. Joulu Puki is their name for St. Nicholas or Santa Claus and Jumala is the Finn word for Christ

Project 1696-1

Gordon McWhirter

Supervisor Moreland

December 9, 1935.

(Christmas) On Christmas all should go calling in ~~sled~~ sleighs. Torches are set up to light the roads. It seems to be quite like the Scotch "first foot" custom. Lavish eating is done this day. Informant brought out that good Finns will always feed a visitor - it is extremely impolite to allow one to leave your door in Finland without at least offering coffee and cake. (I was not served this first visit!). If a visitor stays ~~overnight~~ into the night a bed is offered and if overnight a steam bath. Steam baths are quite a subject and I will collect sufficient information and first hand experience on them to make a worthy report in my next paper.

Finnish folklore and customs:

From five interviews I have gathered merely a general background of information about remembrances of Finland and a few of the holidays, religious or otherwise. My sources were not very good for much detail because they were "Americans" doing their best to forget everything except the Fourth of July and "America".

- The meanings of the names of the months become more interesting when it is realized that in Finland the temperature in January will be from twenty to thirty degrees below freezing, while in July it will be between fifty and sixty. The winters are generally very long ("hard, cold weather") with frost sometimes as late as June and July with consequent danger to crops.

Tammi Kuu (January)	"hard, cold weather"
Helmi Kuu (February)	"snow like glittering jewels" (worse weather!)
Maalis Kuu (March)	"ground peeps from under snow"
Huhti Kuu (April)	"It gets easier" (snow is gone)
Touko Kuu (May)	"seeding and planting time"
Kesä Kuu (June)	"summer month"
Heinä Kuu (July)	"hay-making time"

Elo Kuu (August)	"harvest time"
Syys Kuu (September)	"autumn month"
Loka Kuu (October)	"muddy season"; rainfall will be from 25" on the coast to perhaps 15" in the interior.
Marras Kuu (November)	"first freezing"
Joulu Kuu (December)	"Christmas month": this is the month not named from nature.

Perhaps 15% of the population of Finland lives in towns. For the large farming population primary education has been furnished by traveling "schools" controlled by the Lutheran clergy, Lutheranism being the dominant religion. Lutheran ministers will travel around the parish, visiting all homes and "examining" their parishioners.

IMPORTANT "DAYS" OR HOLIDAYS:

Dec. 31, a half holiday for taking steam baths. (Finns here retain much of their passion for steam baths but one old country habit is not possible in California--running from the steam bath to jump in the snow or cut an ice-hole for a swim. Perhaps they would "forget" this one, even if we had snow!)

Jan. 1, families attend church together before dawn for "candle-light service".

Jan. 6, Loppisnin--last of the New Year holidays.

All Sundays in January following Loppisnin are fast days.

March 25, Marian paiva or Berry Day; berry gathering made into a festival.

Friday before Easter, Good Friday or Pitkaperjantai.

("Long Friday"). "You would have thought it a long Friday

if you had hung there all day!"

Passainen (Easter) or Paasiai paiva (Easter day)

Monday following Easter is "second Easter holiday"

The first four Sundays following Easter are "fasting days"

The fifth Sunday after Easter is "for praying"

The Thursday following this "praying Sunday" is a day for some ceremony now forgotten--Helatuurtai.

First Sunday and first Monday in June have some significance not recalled--Hellunti paiva.

From second Sunday in June to and including the twenty-second Sunday following, special observances are due for "kolminais". The first Sunday in November, however, has some special significance as "Pyhain". These religious days have lost all interest for the people interviewed and will have to be looked up elsewhere.

The first Sunday after the 22nd Kolminais is:

Tuomio Sunnuntai--Judgment Sunday.

Last Sunday in November is first day in Advent, Adventissa.

Second, third, and fourth Sundays in Advent call for special rites.

Dec. 25 was celebrated previous to the forceful conversion of the Finns to Christianity (in the 12th century saint of Finland) and the Christian "day" was merely a change of name.

Originally the Finns deified the forces of nature:

Ukko, god of the air; Tapio, god of the forests; Ahti, of the water, et., etc. Finnish mythology and theology is found explained in the epic poem "The Kalevala".

The day after Christmas, Lapaninpaiva, is a holiday.

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From five interviews I have gathered merely a general background of information about remembrances of Finland and a few of the holidays, religious or otherwise. My sources were not very good for much detail because they were "Americans" doing their best to forget everything except the Fourth of July and "America".

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Following list of important "days" or holidays:

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March 15, Maria's paiva or Berry Day; berry gathering made into a festival.

Friday before Easter, Good Friday or Pitkaperjantai (i.e.

"Long Friday"). "You would have thought it a long Friday if you had hung there all day!!"

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Tuomi	Judgment
Sunnuntai	Sunday

Last Sunday in November is first day in Advent, Adventissa. Second, third, and fourth Sundays in Advent call for special rites.

Dec. 25 was celebrated previous to the forceful conversion of the Finns to Christianity (in the 11th C. by an English missionary, Henry, who later became the patron saint of Finland) and the Christian "day" was merely a change of name.

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The day after Christmas, Lopeniäpeive, is a holiday.

Project 1696-1

Gordon McWhirter

Supervisor Moreland

December 17, 1935

1. HISTORY OF FOLKLORE: Finland.

- (a) Customs
- (b) Background
- (c) Racial composition

2. Sources: Interviews: Mrs. Tier

Peralta Baths prop.

Mrs. J. N. Rinne

Oiva Nurmela, et. as.

Notes

Kalavela

Racial composition of the Finnish nation: Hilden

3. Approx. 2000 words: Dec. 8 - 17

HISTORY OF FOLKLORE - FINNISH CUSTOMS

Food: Two national dishes

1. ~~Connected with marriage celebrations:~~ ^{in the} special dish of baked rice ~~is served~~ which has an almond somewhere in it. ~~Who~~ ^{he} gets the almond will be the next to ~~get~~ married. This ~~is the same idea as~~ the ring in English plum-pudding. (However, I have often obtained the same from the pudding - by fair means, very frequently - but wealth has not been indicated!)

The marriage celebration itself lasts for days in the old country. ~~There is a~~ ^{one long (four or five days) barn dance,} festival and banquet. ~~There~~ ^{it is} is some carry over, apparently, and it is usually only an unpopular or ~~Q~~ very poor couple ~~who do~~ not have high festival here at marriage-time.

2. A peculiar "Christmas dish" is lipea kala or "lye fish". This is a necessary food for Christmas. Christ could ~~not~~ ^{neither} have been born ~~as~~ crucified if lipea kala had not been potential! It is served generally not only in the old country but ^{here as well} among all Finns who are real Finns, ~~here~~

Dried fish, old and brown, is soaked in a lye solution for a few hours, or even longer. Then it is ~~put to soak~~ ^{soaked} in fresh water for three ~~weeks~~ ^{with it is} ~~when it is~~ "fresh and beautiful!" ~~It~~ ^{is} is boiled and served with white sauce, allspice and salt. ~~My informant rose to vigorous~~

~~defense of the "delicacy"~~ when I asked if ~~the ritual was~~ really appreciated ~~by my informant~~ ^{the ritual were}

FUNERAL:

A small-town funeral was ^{described my} ~~described~~ by informant who ^{visited} ~~had been on~~ a ~~visit to~~ the old country in ¹⁹³³ ~~1933~~. It was a poor man's affair. The wealth of a family ^{may} ~~can~~ be judged by the splendor with which the corpse is dispatched and also by ^{how long} ~~the length of~~ tolling of the church bells. ^{this} At so much per toll ~~it~~ is a matter of economic ability as well as religious faith, ^{and} ~~how long the bells will ring~~. But, rich or poor, a funeral is a solemn affair ^{A funeral also involves} ~~for which~~ many will turn out for a good time is assured. ~~There is also~~ a sense of obligation which even the unbelievers cannot quite overcome.

This particular funeral procession ^{proceeded} ~~was coming~~ down the center of the main street of the town. A band of three instruments headed the parade and ~~were~~ followed by two little boys carrying a small fir tree, each. Then a plain box casket carried by six bearers ~~which was~~ followed by the family. As this was Sunday a special minister was not required, ~~but~~ the service was held following the regular church service ~~without~~ an extra charge for the divine sanction. A decent middle-class funeral would have a special church service on a week-day and gladly pay the extra charges.

The ^{importance} ~~occasion~~ of a funeral ^{is carried} ~~carries~~ over to this country. ^{It is only} ~~Only~~ Finn of very small significance will not ~~have~~ a good turn-out at his funeral. After the burial the family of the deceased entertain with a supper. The practicality of this ^{is clear} ~~was pointed out~~. If the family and friends feel badly ^(as is very apt to be the case) ~~(as is very apt to be the case)~~ it is a help to have ~~people~~ around to deflect emotionalism into the practical channels of sociability.

RETURN OF FISHING BOATS:

Finns ~~have~~ celebrate when their men return from an Alaska fishing trip. This might be considered an ordinary ~~celebration for a reunion,~~ *actually it is connected* but it ~~actually connects~~ with the old country celebration ~~for~~ the return of the fishing boats. The times, places, and other details should be interesting and I may be able to pick up such information. At present *but they celebrate and that* only ~~the fact is stated;~~ food, dancing and festival are plentiful, ~~and the time is high.~~

Highlights in History of Finland:

In the 7th or 8th century the Finns entered what is now Finland. *7th 1157* (The Lapps probably were there before them.) Christianity was forced upon the Finns from Sweden by King Eric IX, who became Saint Eric, ~~in 1157~~. The people were then living in separate communities without "government." The Christian propagandists encountered a people with a Nature Religion: the forces of nature ~~being~~ *were* deified in Ukko, god of the air; Tapio, god of the forests; Ahti, god of the water, and others. The theology of the early Finns is contained in the Kalavala, the epic poem of ~~the~~ *these* people *This* which is having its centenary celebration all this year in Finland. *It* *"*Report on the Kalavala and the celebration is in process.. *"*

Bishop Henry was left by King Eric to complete the conversion and conquest. Henry was killed and reaped ~~the~~ *Q* martyr's *by* glory becoming the patron saint of Finland. In 1209 Bishop Thomas took up Henry's work (of conquest, not martyrdom) and by 1249 a crusade was launched to ~~take~~ the benefits of Christianity to all the Finns. It was successful but ~~the~~ *the* constant wars between Sweden and Russia over possession of Finland finally ended in 1323 with a boundary settlement. Swedish civilization was forced upon the Finns who were granted equal civil rights.

In 1528 the Reformed religion was introduced and the country raised to the position of a ^{Grand duchy} ~~grand duchy~~. Early in the 17th century Gustavus Adolphus, an "Enlightened monarch," established a Diet on the basis of four classes: nobles, clergy, burghers, ^{and} peasants.

There was a great famine between 1696-9 ^{and partially emerging} ~~and partially emerging~~ from this ^{it} ~~the country~~ was conquered from Sweden by Peter the Great with great suffering to the entire people. 1809 saw the whole of Finland ceded to Russia, which, however, allowed the country to retain a semi-independent ^{condition} ~~condition~~ with a Diet and Constitution. The Slavophile ^m Movement for "one law, one church, one tongue" was oppression "just around the corner", and the great famine and panic of 1848, when whole villages starved, did not add to the optimism of the Finns.

By 1903 Finland was under a Russian governor and ^{practically a} ~~a practical~~ Russian dictatorship. This was ^{the base} ~~this background~~ for the "National Strike" in November, 1905. This universal effort ^{it was a} ~~it was a~~ general strike demanded the status quo of 1899; ie, the Diet and the Constitution. The demands were met and the Diet met and revamped the Constitution for universal suffrage and freedom of press, speech, and assemblage.

" The racial composition of the Finnish nation," by Prof. Kaarlo Hilden, Ph. D, lecturer in Anthropology in the University of Helsinki, published by the Government Printing Office in 1932, concludes:

" The racial composition of the Finnish people has not as yet been definitely analyzed. However, in the light of present research, the following facts may be said to be established:

(1) the general opinion prevailing heretofore that the Finns are of Asiatic origin and Mongoloid race is not based on scientific fact;

(2) the East-Baltic race is the most important component of the

Finnish nation, which race is blond, relatively tall in stature, and sturdily built;

(3) the blond Nordic race forms the second important racial component, which has been established in all sections of the country, but most particularly in the west;

(4) the Samian race element, ie. the Lapp influence, is noticeable in the north and east, without however being determinative to any marked degree;

(5) racially the Finns belong to the rest of the European peoples without any sharp demarcations, connected more especially to their nearest geographical neighbors."

These conclusions seem to me to warrant a study of the reasons which I shall undertake.

FOREIGN BORN FINNS IN SONOMA COUNTY

The hardy, frugal people of Finland have contributed much to the development of this county. More than 175 of these foreign born have settled in this section of the state and most of them have made their homes in and around Cotati. These sons of the northland have more the characteristic of Scandinavians, that is the Swedes and Norwegians, than they have of the Slavs, though for many years they were dominated by the Russians and it was due mostly to that domination and their intense love for absolute freedom that so many of them have come to the United States. In Cotati is a branch of their Lodge or Order, the United Finnish Brotherhood which has an active membership of more than one hundred. This society is benevolent and social in its character. Here they perpetuate the folk songs of the "Kalevala", the most popular of all Finnish literature, and engage in dances of the fatherland and promote picnics where there is served the famous Finnish bread and cheese. The former is a little hard but it is tasty and crusty and the Finns seem to be provided with the teeth to masticate it -- perhaps this is one reason they have such good teeth.

Our first contact was with Frans H. Vuori who lives near Pennngrove. He was born near Albo, Finland, on January 20, 1878. He was educated in the schools of his native land and Mr. Vuori convinced me of the excellence of these schools. They were excellent in his day and they are better now. After finishing the grammar schools he took up the vocation of cabinet making and became an expert in his line. At the age of twenty-two in 1900, he came to the United States, landing in San Francisco, where for ten years he followed the trade of cabinet-maker and saved his money. He had a desire for the land and in 1910 he came to Sonoma County and bought ten acres of land near Pennngrove. He immediately set about to make this an up-to-date poultry farm, installing all

the modern improvements such as gas and electricity, and today he has developed one of the most modern and efficient poultry farms in Sonoma County. He runs about five thousand hens and makes a good income from the business, even in these times when feed is so high.

Vuori loves to talk of his native country and entertained me with tales of the beautiful lake country and the old cathedral of Abo which they began to build in 1229 and did not finish until 1400, but was well and massively built so that it still stands in almost as good condition as when it was finished, though it has been very little repaired. This church is distinguished for its famous murals and as the burial place of many famous men and women. In some of the side chapels are the tombs of some of the famous generals of the Thirty Years War, whose suits of battle scarred armor still stand beside their resting places. And here also is the tomb of Queen Katherine of Sweden.

But more interesting was his talk of the "Kalevala" which is the Odyssey and the Iliad of Finland. He could recite whole pages from his famous collection of old poems, and he was good enough to repeat one verse in Finnish and it was beautiful as he pronounced it. Translated it is:

"Pleasant 'tis in boat on water,
Swaying as the boat glides onward,
Gliding o'er the sparkling water,
Driving o'er its shiny surface,
While the wind the boat is rocking,
And the waves drive on the vessel,
While the west wind rocks it gently,
And the south wind drives it onward."

In 1902 Vuori married Anna S. Korsu, a Finnish girl, and to them have been born ten children, a not unusual family for the Fins, two of whom have died. He is a member of the United Finnish Brotherhood and is independent in politics. He supported President Roosevelt in the last election and greatly admires him as do most of the Fins with whom I have come in contact.

At Cotati we next meet Hemming Saarinen. He was born at Helsingfors, Finland, on the twelfth of September, 1887, and received a common school education in his native land and then followed the sea for a vocation as do many of the Finns. In 1906 he came to the United States landing at the port of New York. For a short time after coming to this country, he was employed as a sailor along the Atlantic Coast. Then he came to San Francisco and voyaged out of that port until 1921. From here he visited all the ports of the world but all the while he was longing for a more permanent home and a place on the soil, so on May 17, 1921, he quit the sea and came to this county. He brought twelve acres of good land near Cotati, seven acres of which are in prunes. Besides his orchard he keeps about a thousand laying hens and has been very successful in his farming operations.

On December 25, 1917, he celebrated Christmas which means so much to his people, as it does to all Scandinavians, by marrying Hilma Baavilainen who also was born and educated in Finland. Besides the Finnish Brotherhood, he is a member of the Loyal Order of Moose and is also independent in politics and a supporter of the policies of President Roosevelt.

An "Old Salt of the Sea" met us on our next visit. No other than Captain Hans Peter Palmgren who though now seventy-six years of age is still hale and hearty and can spin a good yarn of the sea. He was born in the town of Raumo on the Gulf of Bothnia on the twentieth of April 1860 and descended from seafaring people. He started as a sailor at the age of fourteen. He came to the United States in 1880 and landed in San Francisco where he immediately embarked on his chosen vocation. In 1889 he was made captain of the "Webfoot", a small sailing vessel plying between north and south Pacific ports. After three years he joined the fleet of the Simpson Lumber Company, being made captain of the "Encore" on which he sailed for fourteen years. This hardly old Finn has sailed every sea and spent 29 years as a commander of ships. He

22

has passed through many dangerous and thrilling experiences and won the reputation of being one of the best and boldest mariners who sailed out of San Francisco and the Northwest ports.

In 1919 Captain Palmgren came to this county and bought five acres of land at Cotati and has since been engaged in the poultry business. He raises about 2500 hens and makes a pleasure out of this business. After the strenuous years at sea he finds this work great fun. He does not need the money because he saved enough from his long sea service to last him the rest of his days, but he wants something to do. Sometimes he still longs for the sea; he then goes over to some old salt of his own race and swaps yarns for a time.

In 1890 he married Exa Graylund, a daughter of his own country, and they have three children. He belongs to the Masons, the Odd Fellows and the Moose, beside the Finnish Protherhood, and different from most of his countrymen, is a Republican. But he is most democratic and very sociable and some real epics could be written from his tales of the seas.

* * * * *

SOURCES OF INFORMATION:-

Interviews with: Captain Hans Peter Palmgren, Gustaf A. Palm,
Hemming Saarinen, Frans H. Vuori.

~~THE FINNS~~

THE FINNS

1

A San Francisco Finnish Family~~THE FINNS~~

(The names in the following report have been changed for obvious reasons. All other details ~~strictly~~ strictly conform to facts)

"I am probably a typical Finnish-American family man in San Francisco," says Juho Niemela, ~~xxxxxxx~~ a tailor living on Doe St., in the Eureka Valley district.

THE NIEMELA
FAMILY A
TYPICAL ONE

Such terms as "typical" and "average" are dubious at best. However, Mr. Niemela ~~is~~ and his family are fairly representative San Francisco Finns. The "story" of their lives, which they have kindly told the ~~present~~ writer--~~and~~ ~~xxxxxxx~~ a permission to retell it--is a story which, in its surface elements at least, is similar to that of many other Finns in the city.

MR. NIEME-
LA'S EARLY
HISTORY

Mr. Niemela is 55 years old. He was born in Jyvaskyla, a small town in the northern part of the province of Tavastehus. He was the oldest of six children. When thirteen years old, he was apprenticed to a tailoring firm in St. Petersburg (now Leninrad). The small boy, torn from the bosom of his family because of ~~poverty~~ poverty, found the great foreign city strange and disconcerting, and the work hard, exacting, making cruel demands on his endurance. Not until three years had elapsed ~~did he find~~ an opportunity to visit his home in Finland. Two more years, and he became a fully pledged journeyman tailor. He moved to Helsingfors, Finland, and worked there for four years. America was calling. And at twenty-two years of age, he emigrated through the usual channels--~~traveling~~ passing through Hango, Hull, and Liverpool, and thence to Halifax. He went to Toronto, stayed there for three years, then crossed the boarder into the United States. After a year or so in Cleveland, he came West; and has lived in San Francisco ever since.

HE EMIGRATES

MARRIAGE

He was thirty years old when he married a Finnish girl, several years younger than he, Sohvi, ~~xxxxxxx~~ a daughter of a fairly well-to-do farmer

The Finns

A S. F. Family -- 2

in Kuusamo, northern Finland, left her ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ ^{sister} as a maid in the household of an East Bay business man; and the newly-weds began house-keeping in ~~San Francisco~~ Mill Valley, ~~xxxxxxxx~~ at the foot of Mt. Tamalpais. Juho, employed by a San Francisco firm, commuted. A year and a half passed; then ~~later~~ a girl child was born to them, and they named her Anna. A son, born two years later, received the name Victor. When Victor was five years old, the family moved to ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ the Richmond district, in San Francisco, in order that the children might attend school with ~~the~~ greater convenience.

NIEMI-LA'S
CHILDREN

FREQUENT
CHANGE OF
EMPLOYER
AND DWELLING
PLACE

~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~
Meanwhile, Juho had been employed by no less than six different tailoring firms in the city. Being a first-class workman, ~~he had~~ ^{he had} never any difficulty in finding an employer; and in his way, he loved change--such change as was possible within the narrow radius of a journeyman tailor, who did not wish to leave the city. The move from Mill Valley occurred thirteen years ago; and since then the family has changed its dwelling place five times, ~~xxxxxxx~~ and The four room flat which they occupy at present is sunny and clean, ~~xxxxxxxx~~ "modern", with heat; but Sohvi complains of the particularly noisy neighborhood; and, though the last move took place only a year ago, it is more than likely that another ten months will see the Niemelas in a different home.

DEPRESSION
HAS COMPARA-
TIVELY LITTLE
EFFECT ON
NIEMI-LA'S
LIFE

In 1930, Juho Niemela began to feel the effects of the Great Depression. Wages were cut, and often a week went by when there was work for only three or four days. The rest of the time, Juho stayed at home, and grew restless; and even begun to wonder what might happen to his family. He was, however, more fortunate than many others. Anna, on graduation from high school, ^{four years ago} found a job as a stenographer ^{which she still holds,} ~~in a good place,~~ and her salary ^{has} helped in ~~xxxxxxxx~~ keeping up the home, and paying for the expenses of Victor's schooling. The Niemele family has ~~not been unduly~~ and in many ways ~~they have~~ felt the

The Niemelas had no automobile until 1929 when, just before the slump, Juho bought a large used Buick, which Victor, then thirteen, quickly learned to drive. The car soon grew old-fashioned, and Victor protested, asking for a later model. His father remained ~~adamant~~ unresponsive, and Victor was compelled to remain satisfied with the ~~unyielding~~ ^{unyielding} one, which each year grew more and more old-fashioned. Eight months ago, the old car was sold; and for the present, the family ~~is without a car~~ ^{is unable} ~~to~~ ^{on wheels} roll among the rest of the population on Sundays. But Juho has tentatively promised to buy one-- of more recent vintage than the old Buick-- within the next year. ~~They have,~~ ^{the family} of course, a radio, which has put the ^{cabinet} /phonograph (of which Juho was proud nine years ago) definitely into the background, with its piles of records seldom played nowadays. They also have an upright piano, for Anna began to take piano lessons when six years old. These lessons continued ~~xxxixxxxxxxx~~ fairly regularly for several years; and without being a first-rate amateur performer, Anna plays ~~well~~ ^{professes no musical talent,} tolerably well. She ~~isxxxxxxxixxxxxxxx~~ however, and feels that much of that early effort was wasted--partly because of the incompetency of her teachers, selected by Juho at random from newspaper advertisements. Anna wished to be an actress--as what girl does not--

ANNA'S
MUSIC
LESSONS

but she had to go to work after finishing high school; and ever since has been compelled to gratify her wishes by taking part in the plays ~~which~~ performed by ~~the Finnish~~ ^{local} young Finns in the San Francisco and Berkeley Finnish halls.

HOW THE
NIEMELA'S
EAT

As to food and drink, the Niemelas live well. They conform, in this respect at least, very ~~close~~ ^{well} to the so-called American standard. ^{of living} On holidays (and ~~the~~ new world holidays, such as Thanksgiving and the Fourth of July, are strictly observed in this household) the table in the dining-room is loaded to its capacity ~~with~~ ^{with beef, lamb, or turkey, and their ac-} cesories. But the Niemelas do not stop at this. Sohvi, an excellent cook, bakes Finnish ~~cake~~ cakes, and prepares Finnish gravies; and there ^{are} ~~is~~ also dainty slabs of ~~smoked~~ fish (and, for that matter, several other kinds of fish, for example anchovies and lutfisk) which have been ~~very~~ ^{are} specially spiced ~~and prepared~~ by Sohvi herself. These non-American delicacies are eaten only by Juho and Sohvi, and by guests who belong to the old school of Finns: Anna and Victor, and their young friends, ^{thumb} ~~turn~~ their noses at them. No salt fish for these youngsters: they cordially dislike ^{even} the odor of it ~~even~~--though suffering/without great protest, the older folk to stuff themselves ^{inordinate} with these repulsive oddities.

COFFEE

Sohvi retains the Finnish woman's ^{inordinate} love for coffee. When she is at home, the coffee pot grows never cold. But, though otherwise they follow all the ordinary American customs with their meals, ^{neither} the Niemelas ^{nor} ~~and~~ their Finnish friends drink coffee with ~~the~~ ^{dinner.} Never. Even the children have never learned to ~~do~~ do this. Coffee is drunk an hour or two after dinner--and also, when possible, in the middle of the afternoon. The women of the household seldom taste wine. But Juho never fails to have a bottle or two in the pantry, ^a a bottle of whisky as well as wine. In fact, Juho is something of a "drinking man." Before the Prohibition, he never went home without his swig in the corner saloon; and often he was late for dinner. Sohvi had to learn

NIEMELA
HIMSELF
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was more or less ill most of the time, during the early years, before the
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quality of the bootleg liquor improved. Frequently/Sohvi still waits for

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when he does arrive. ~~PT~~ Though a drinking man, Juho is far from being a

drunkard. He has never touched the ~~pit.~~ Nowadays, his drinking at times

causes noisy and bitter arguments between him and the boy Victor, who is

nervous and somewhat fed up with the old home-life in general, but unable

to find an office job, and thus compelled to ~~stay~~ go on living at home--

from which he absents himself practically every evening after dinner. Juho,

loving his son of course, is yet dissatisfied with him, often angry at him,

and frequently upbraids him for his lack of studiousness, for his apparent

frivolity and ingratitude (for Victor, wearing fine tailor-made clothes and

always with a dollar in his pocket, is more fortunate than many youths with

parents better provided with ^{the} world's goods). ~~P~~ As for Anna, she is of course

the apple of Juho's eye, and perhaps with reason, for Anna did well in school,

and has not only supported herself ever since graduation, but has also helped

her parents. Both parents are pleased with Anna (but Sohvi is also fiercely

protective of Victor, and takes his part in almost every argument); and it is

natural that Anna, though a good girl, is infected with ~~the~~ a modicum of that

overbearing attitude which is "typical" of American girls. She is apt to

boss her father, and at times to act ^{at home} with something bordering on insolence.

~~This family is~~ The foregoing description, necessarily a poor, inadequate
American family of the
one, portrays what seems to be an average/lower middle-class -- for by no

stretch of imagination can Juho Niemela be called a proletariat. ~~the difference between the household of Niemela and the household of the~~

What then is the peculiar significance attached to this family because of its
~~the difference between the household of Niemela and the household of the~~

Finnish origin? To answer that question, ~~the difference between the household of Niemela and the household of the~~ a closer exami-

ation of Juho and his wife and children is necessary.

VICTOR DIS-
Satisfied

ANNA A GOOD
DAUGHTER

XXXXXXXXXX
XXXXXXXXXX
THE NIEME-
LAS REPRESENT
THE AVERAGE

JUHO NIE-
MELA'S
EARLY CUL-
TURAL
ASPIRATIONS

crossed into the United States from Canada thirty-two years
When Juho ~~arrived in America~~ ^{some} he carried with
him several volumes of Tolstoi, Turgeneff, Dostoevsky, ~~and various~~ in the
original Russian, ~~and some~~ and some in Finnish translations. He also had
books on socialism, and on scientific subjects. In Cleveland ~~and some~~
~~he~~ he belonged to a local Finnish workmen's society, and
wrote pieces for a Finnish newspaper published in Duluth, ~~and some~~ After
coming to San Francisco, he still continued reading, and ~~and some~~
~~he~~ ^{follow} something for the socialistic Finnish paper published on the West Coast. Gradu-
ally he picked up enough English to ~~understand~~ the drift of a ~~story~~
story in a ^{news} paper. Few of his friends, whether Finns or not, read anything
else. After his marriage, Juho little by little ~~and some~~
books, and most of them were either lost or lay on the shelves of his little
book-case. The newspaper, with its large headlines, ~~and some~~ its
pictures of scantily dressed women and what not, claimed all such attention
as Juho was able to bestow upon ^{the} printed page after his day of labor and the
ensuing visit to the saloon. ~~and some~~ Within the
circles of Juho's cronies conversation was largely limited to shop-talk, ~~and some~~
to envious, respectful references to big business men, to an occasional dis-
cussion of the injustice of the system. Unlike the poverty-stricken tailors
in St. Petersburg, these San Francisco cloth-mechanics had no time for reading
serious books or pamphlets. In the prosperous city of San Francisco one's
thoughts ^{the} turned toward beckoning possibilities of money-making, of business--
that alpha and omega of the new country. And as a matter of fact, some of
Juho's early acquaintances actually did begin their own business, and one or
two even attained moderate prosperity. Juho himself, like the majority, has
never been able to save any money--he has just been "making a good living."

~~and some~~
THE GRADUAL
SLACKENING
OF THE MAN'S
SPIRITUAL
FIBRE

"BUSINESS"
THE UNIVER-
SAL WORD

Today Juho asserts, with a touch of wistful and bitter pride, that in his
youth, though he was only a tailor's apprentice, he attended free concerts

NIMELA'S
REMINISCENCES
OF HIS YOUTH-
FUL INTERESTS

in which he listened appreciatively to music by Beethoven, Tchaikowsky, Glinka, and Borodin; that he actually sat up in bed, after twelve ~~hours~~ ^{hours} labor in the shop, reading The Brothers Karamazov, that he was studying not only Russian but also German in his spare time.... And he adds that all this is but a memory now. For fifteen years he has hardly opened a book more "solid" than Jack London's Valley of the Moon, over which he browsed one Sunday last year....

That Juho is speaking the truth, becomes evident from his conversation -- whenever one is able to draw him out, so to speak. While Juho ~~excessively~~ ^{excessively} admires O. O. McIntire, the columnist, and while he speaks with a certain tremor ~~of~~ ^{of} awe in his voice of Giannini, the banker, and ~~the~~ other "smart" business men (whom, while respecting and envying them, he ^{too} hates/as the he, at the same time, has an intelligent remark oppressors of the people), ~~he~~ ^{he} ~~has~~ ^{has} an intelligent remark

~~to make upon the poetry of Alexander Pushkin, that~~ ^{to make upon the poetry of Alexander Pushkin, that} and he will admit, ~~that~~ ^{that} though perhaps grudgingly, that Einstein is in his own way as "smart" as Giannini. And while he dotes on Amos and Andy and certain other ~~noisy acts on the air~~ ^{noisy acts on the air} that Caruso

~~he will sincerely and somewhat sadly acknowledge~~ ^{he will sincerely and somewhat sadly acknowledge} ~~that~~ ^{that} ~~he~~ ^{he} ~~was~~ ^{was} ~~superior to~~ ^{superior to} Bing Crosby and the radio fiddlers. Perhaps Juho ~~has~~ ^{has} a touch of intellectual snobbishness; the fact remains that once he did

play over and over phonograph records ~~of~~ ^{of} high grade music, and that today it does not occur to him to shut off the radio and play those same records; also, it never occurs him to re-read Pushkin, instead of limiting his reading to the facile froth of the newspaper columnist. In fact, he has forgotten how to read Russian. To ~~state~~ ^{state} the case ~~with~~ ^{with} Juho, while becoming an American, with American standards of living, lost somewhere in the

process the cultural aspirations of his early youth in the old world. ~~How~~ ^{How} do his losses balance with his gains? Who can say? Aside from ~~his~~ ^{his} daily labor, what is ~~his~~ ^{his} contribution ~~to~~ ^{to} the civilization of our commonwealth?

A CERTAIN
DETERIORATION
EVIDENT IN
NIMELA

WHAT IS THE
SIGNIFICANCE
OF NIMELA
AND OTHERS
LIKE HIM?

(To be continued)

The Finns

A SAN FRANCISCO FINNISH FAMILY

(The names in the following report have been changed for obvious reasons. All other details strictly conform to facts.)

"I am probably a typical Finnish-American family man in San Francisco," says Juho Niemela, a tailor living on Noe St., in the Eureka Valley district.

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Such terms as "typical" and "average" are dubious at best. However, Mr. Niemela and his family are fairly representative San Francisco Finns. The "story" of their lives, which they have kindly told the writer -- with permission to retell it -- is a story which, in its surface elements at least, is similar to that of many other Finns in the city.

MR. NIEMELA'S
EARLY HISTORY

Mr. Niemela is 55 years old. He was born in Jyvaskyla, a small town in the northern part of the province of Tavastehus. He was the oldest of six children. When thirteen years old, he was apprenticed to a tailoring firm in St. Petersburg (now Leningrad). The small boy, torn from the bosom of his family because of poverty, found the great foreign city strange and disconcerting, and the work hard and exacting, making cruel demands on his endurance. Not until

three years had elapsed did he find an opportunity to visit his home in Finland. Two more years, and he became a fully pledged journeyman tailor. He moved to Helsingfors, Finland, and worked there for four years. America was calling. And at twenty-two years of age, he emigrated through the usual channels -- passing through Hango, Hull, and Liverpool, and thence to Halifax. He went to Toronto, stayed there for three years, then crossed the border into the United States. After a year or so in Cleveland, he came West; and has lived in San Francisco ever since.

HE EMIGRATES

He was thirty years old when he married a Finnish girl, several years younger than he. Sohvi, a daughter of a fairly well-to-do farmer in Kuusamo, northern Finland, left her situation as a maid in the household of an East Bay business man; and the newly weds began housekeeping in Mill Valley, at the foot of Mt. Tamalpais. Juho, employed by a San Francisco firm, commuted. A year and a half passed; then a girl child was born to them, and they named her Anna. A son, born two years later, received the name Victor. When Victor was five years old, the family moved to the Richmond district, in San Francisco, in order that the children might attend school with greater convenience.

MARRIAGE

Meanwhile, Juho had been employed by no less than six different tailoring firms in the city. Being a first-class workman, he had never any difficulty in finding an employer; and in his way, he loved change -- such change as was possible within the narrow radius of a journeyman tailor, who did not wish to leave the city.

FREQUENT CHANGE OF EMPLOYER AND DWELL- ING PLACE

The move from Mill Valley occurred thirteen years ago; and since then the family has changed its dwelling place five times. The four room flat which they occupy at present is sunny and clean, and "modern", with heat; but Sohvi complains of the particularly noisy neighborhood; and, though the last move took place only a year ago, it is more than likely that another ten months will see the Niemelas in a different home.

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LIFE

In 1930, Juho Niemela began to feel the affects of the great depression. Wages were cut, and often a week went by when there was work for only three or four days. The rest of the time, Juho stayed at home, and grew restless; and even began to wonder what might happen to his family. He was, however, more fortunate than many others. Anna, on graduation from high school four years ago, found a good job as a stenographer which she still holds, and her salary has helped in keeping up the home, and paying for the expenses of Victor's schooling. The Niemela family has in many ways felt the depression less than most people of their circumstances. Three years ago, Juho went to work in a tailor shop in Burlingame, and has, despite his sporadic desire to try some other firm, stuck to his job -- paying him much less than he used to earn before the crash of 1929. Thus, he is once more commuting -- reversing the procedure of the suburbanite, with an office where Juho has his home, and a home where Juho, so to speak, has his office. Sohvi, who in ~~her~~ younger days learned dressmaking, holds down a parttime job also. Only Victor, now nineteen years old, is unemployed. And he, after a two years' attendance at a junior college, is attending classes in a business school.

THREE MEM-
BERS OF
FAMILY
EMPLOYED

THE FAMILY
AUTOMOBILE

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RADIO RE-
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The family has, of course, a radio, which has put the cabinet phonograph (of which Juho was proud nine years ago) definitely into the background, with its piles of records seldom played nowadays. They also have an upright piano, for Anna began to take piano lessons when six years old. These lessons continued fairly regularly for several years; and without being a first-rate amateur performer, Anna plays tolerably well. She professes no musical talent, however, and feels that much of that early effort was wasted -- partly because of the incompetency of her teachers, selected by Juho at random from newspaper advertisements. Anna wished to be an actress -- as what girl does not? -- but she had to go to work after finishing high school; and ever since has been compelled to gratify her wishes by taking part in the plays performed by local young and old Finns in the San Francisco and Berkeley Finnish halls.

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in this respect at least, very well to the so-called American Standards of living. On holidays (and even the New World holidays, such as Thanksgiving and the Fourth of July, are strictly observed in this household) the table in the dining-room is loaded to its capacity with beef, lamb, or turkey, and their accessories. But the Niemelas do not stop at this. Sohvi, an excellent cook, bakes Finnish cakes, and prepares Finnish gravies; and there are also dainty slabs of smoked fish (and, for that matter, several other kinds of fish, for example anchovies and lutfisk) which have been specially spiced by Sohvi herself. These non-American delicacies are eaten only by Juho and Sohvi, and by guests who belong to the old school of Finns; Anna and Victor, and their young friends thumb their noses at them. No salt fish for these youngsters: they cordially dislike even the odor of it -- though suffering, without great protest, the older folk to stuff themselves with these repulsive oddities.

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Though a drinking man, Juho is far from being a drunkard. He has never touched the pit. Nowadays, his drinking at times causes noisy and bitter arguments between him and the boy Victor, who is nervous and somewhat fed up with the old home-life in general, but unable to find an office job, and thus compelled to go on living at home -- from which he absents himself practically every evening after dinner. Juho, loving his son of course, is yet dissatisfied with him, often angry at him, and frequently upbraids him for his lack of studiousness, for his apparent frivolity and ingratitude (for Victor, wearing fine tailor-made clothes and always with a dollar in his pocket, is more fortunate than many youths with parents better provided with the world's goods).

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and perhaps with reason, for Anna did well in school, and has not only supported herself ever since graduation, but has also helped her parents. Both parents are pleased with Anna (but Sohvi is also fiercely protective of Victor, and takes his part in almost every argument); and it is natural that Anna, though a good girl, is in-

ANNA A
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THE NIEMELAS
REPRESENT
THE AVERAGE

The foregoing description, necessarily a poor, inadequate one, portrays what seems to be an average American family of the lower middle-class -- for by no stretch of imagination can Juho Niemela be called a proletarian. What then is the peculiar significance attached to this family because of its Finnish origin? To answer that question, a closer examination of Juho and his wife and children is necessary.

JUHO NIEMELA'S
EARLY CUL-
TURAL AS-
PIRATIONS

When Juho crossed into the United States from Canada thirty-two years ago, he carried with him several volumes of Tolstoi, Turgeneff, Dostoevsky, some in the original Russian, and some in Finnish translations. He also had books on socialism, and on scientific subjects. In Cleveland he belonged to a local Finnish workmen's society, and wrote pieces for a Finnish newspaper published in Duluth. After coming to San Francisco, he still continued reading, and occasionally wrote something for the socialistic Finnish paper published on the West Coast.

THE GRADUAL
SLACKENING
OF THE MAN'S
SPIRITUAL
FIBRE

Gradually he picked up enough English to follow the drift of a story in a newspaper. Few of his friends, whether Finns or not, read anything else. After his marriage, Juho little by little neglected to return to his books, and most of them were either lost or lay on the shelves of his little bookcase. The newspaper, with its large headlines, its pictures of scantily dressed women and what not, claimed all such attention as Juho was able to bestow upon the

printed page after his day of labor and the ensuing visit to the saloon. Within the circles of Juho's cronies conversation was largely limited to shop-talk, to envious, respectful references to big business men, to an occasional discussion of the injustices of the system. Unlike the poverty stricken tailors in St. Petersburg, these San Francisco cloth-mechanics had no time for reading serious books or pamphlets. In the prosperous city of San Francisco one's thoughts turned toward the beckoning possibilities of money-making, of business-- that alpha and omega of the new country. And as a matter of fact, some of Juho's early acquaintances actually did begin their own businesses, and one or two even attained moderate prosperity. Juho himself, like the majority, has never been able to save any money -- he has just been "making a good living."

"BUSINESS"
THE UNIVER-
SAL WORD

Today Juho asserts, with a touch of wistful and bitter pride, that in his youth, though he was only a tailor's apprentice, he attended free concerts in which he listened appreciatively to music by Beethoven, Tchaikowsky, Glinka, and Borodin; that he actually sat up in bed, after twelve hours' labor in the shop, reading The Brothers Karamazov, that he was studying not only Russian but also German in his spare time ... And he adds that all this is but a memory now. For fifteen years he has hardly opened a book more "solid" than Jack London's Valley of the Moon, over which he browsed one Sunday last year....

NIELMELA'S
REMINISCENCES
OF HIS YOUTH-
FUL INTERESTS

That Juho is speaking the truth, becomes evident from

A CERTAIN
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his conversation -- whenever one is able to draw him out, so to speak. While Juho excessively admires O.O. McIntire, the columnist, and while he speaks with a certain tremor of awe in his voice of Giannini, the banker, and other "smart" business men (whom, while respecting and envying, he also hates as the oppressors of the people), he, at the same time, has an intelligent remark to make upon the poetry of Alexander Pushkin, and he will admit, though perhaps grudgingly, that Einstein is in his own way as "smart" as Giannini. And while he dotes on "Amos and Andy" and certain other noisy acts on the air he will sincerely and somewhat sadly acknowledge that Caruso and Ysaye were superior to Bing Crosby and the radio fiddlers. Perhaps Juho has a touch of intellectual snobbishness; the fact remains that once he did play over and over phonograph records of high grade music, and that today it does not occur to him to shut off the radio and play those same records; also, it never occurs him to re-read Pushkin, instead of limiting his reading to the facile froth of the newspaper columnists. In fact, he has forgotten how to read Russian. To state the case succinctly, Juho, while becoming an American, with American standards of living, lost somewhere in the process the cultural aspirations of his early youth in the old world. How do his losses balance with his gains? Who can say? Aside from his daily labor, what is his contribution -- what is the contribution of an immigrant like Juho to the civilization of our commonwealth?

WHAT IS THE
SIGNIFICANCE
OF NIEMELA
AND OTHERS
LIKE HIM?

[To be continued]

The Finns

A SAN FRANCISCO FINNISH FAMILY

(The names in the following report have been changed for obvious reasons. All other details strictly conform to facts.)

"I am probably a typical Finnish-American family man in San Francisco," says Juno Niemela, a tailor living on Nee St., in the Mareka Valley district.

Such terms as "typical" and "average" are dubious at best. However, Mr. Niemela and his family are fairly representative San Francisco Finns. The "story" of their lives, which they have kindly told the writer -- with permission to retell it -- is a story which, in its surface elements at least, is similar to that of many other Finns in the city.

Mr. Niemela is 55 years old. He was born in Jyvaskyla, a small town in the northern part of the province of Tavastehus. He was the oldest of six children. When thirteen years old, he was apprenticed to a tailoring firm in St. Petersburg (now Leningrad). The small boy, torn from the bosom of his family because of poverty, found the great foreign city strange and disconcerting, and the work hard and exacting, making cruel demands on his endurance. Not until

THE NIEMELA
FAMILY A
TYPICAL ONE

MR. NIEMELA'S
EARLY HISTORY

three years had elapsed did he find an opportunity to visit his home in Finland. Two more years, and he became a fully pledged journeyman tailor. He moved to Helsingfors, Finland, and worked there for four years. America was calling. And at twenty-two years of age, he emigrated through the usual channels -- passing through Hango, Hull, and Liverpool, and thence to Halifax. He went to Toronto, stayed there for three years, then crossed the border into the United States. After a year or so in Cleveland, he came West; and has lived in San Francisco ever since.

HE EMIGRATES

He was thirty years old when he married a Finnish girl, several years younger than he. Sohvi, a daughter of a fairly well-to-do farmer in Kauzamo, northern Finland, left her situation as a maid in the household of an East Bay business man; and the newly weds began housekeeping in Mill Valley, at the foot of Mt. Tamalpais. Juho, employed by a San Francisco firm, commuted. A year and a half passed; then a girl child was born to them, and they named her Anna. A son, born two years later, received the name Victor. When Victor was five years old, the family moved to the Richmond district, in San Francisco, in order that the children might attend school with greater convenience.

Meanwhile, Juho had been employed by no less than six different tailoring firms in the city. Being a first-class workman, he had never any difficulty in finding an employer; and in his way, he loved change -- such change as was possible within the narrow radius of a journeyman tailor, who did not wish to leave the city.

FREQUENT
CHANGE OF
EMPLOYER
AND CHANG-
ING PLACE

The move from Mill Valley occurred thirteen years ago; and since then the family has changed its dwelling place five times. The four room flat which they occupy at present is sunny and clean, and "modern", with heat; but Sohvi complains of the particularly noisy neighborhood; and, though the last move took place only a year ago, it is more than likely that another ten months will see the Niemelas in a different home.

DEPRESSION
HAS COMPARA-
TIVELY LITTLE
EFFECT ON
NIEMELA'S
LIFE

In 1930, Juho Niemela began to feel the affects of the great depression. Wages were cut, and often a week went by when there was work for only three or four days. The rest of the time, Juho stayed at home, and grew restless; and even began to wonder what might happen to his family. He was, however, more fortunate than many others. Anna, on graduation from high school four years ago, found a good job as a stenographer which she still holds, and her salary has helped in keeping up the home, and paying for the expenses of Victor's schooling. The Niemela family has in many ways felt the depression less than most people of their circumstances. Three years ago, Juho went to work in a tailor shop in Burlingame, and has, despite his sporadic desire to try some other firm, stuck to his job -- paying him much less than he used to earn before the crash of 1929. Thus, he is once more commuting -- reversing the procedure of the suburbanite, with an office where Juho has his home, and a home where Juho, so to speak, has his office. Sohvi, who in her younger days learned dressmaking, holds down a parttime job also. Only Victor, now nineteen years old, is unemployed. And he, after a two years' attendance at a junior college, is attending classes in a business school.

THREE MEM-
BERS OF
FAMILY
EMPLOYED

THE FAMILY
AUTOMOBILE

The Niemelas had no automobile until 1929 when, just before the slump, Juho bought a large used Buick, which Victor, then thirteen, quickly learned to drive. The car soon grew old-fashioned, and Victor protested, asking for a later model. His father remained unresponsive, and Victor was compelled to remain satisfied with the unwieldy one, which each year grew more and more old-fashioned. Eight months ago, the old car was sold; and for the present, the family is unable to roll on wheels among the rest of the population on Sundays. But Juho has tentatively promised to buy one -- of more recent vintage than the old Buick -- within the next year.

RADIO RE-
PLACES
PHONOGRAPH

The family has, of course, a radio, which has put the cabinet phonograph (of which Juho was proud nine years ago) definitely into the background, with its piles of records seldom played nowadays. They also have an upright piano, for Anna began to take piano lessons when six years old. These lessons continued fairly regularly for several years; and without being a first-rate amateur performer, Anna plays tolerably well. She professes no musical talent, however, and feels that much of that early effort was wasted -- partly because of the incompetency of her teachers, selected by Juho at random from newspaper advertisements. Anna wished to be an actress -- as what girl does not? -- but she had to go to work after finishing high school; and ever since has been compelled to gratify her wishes by taking part in the plays performed by local young and old Finns in the San Francisco and Berkeley Finnish halls.

ANNA'S
MUSIC
LESSONS

As to food and drink, the Niemelas live well. They conform.

NOT THE
NIELMA'S
EAT

in this respect at least, very well to the so-called American Standards of living. On holidays (and even the New World holidays, such as Thanksgiving and the Fourth of July, are strictly observed in this household) the table in the dining-room is loaded to its capacity with beef, lamb, or turkey, and their accessories. But the Niemelas do not stop at this. Sohvi, an excellent cook, bakes Finnish cakes, and prepares Finnish gravies; and there are also dainty slabs of smoked fish (and, for that matter, several other kinds of fish, for example anchovies and lutfisk) which have been specially spiced by Sohvi herself. These non-American delicacies are eaten only by Juho and Sohvi, and by guests who belong to the old school of Finns; Anna and Victor, and their young friends thumb their noses at them. No salt fish for these youngsters: they cordially dislike even the odor of it -- though suffering, without great protest, the older folk to stuff themselves with these repulsive oddities.

COFFEE

Sohvi retains the Finnish woman's inordinate love for coffee. When she is at home, the coffee pot never grows cold. But, though otherwise they follow all the ordinary American customs with their meals, neither the Niemelas nor their Finnish friends drink coffee with dinner. Never. Even the children have never learned to do this. Coffee is drunk an hour or two after dinner -- and also, when possible, in the middle of the afternoon. The women of the household seldom taste wine. But Juho never fails to have a bottle or two in the pantry -- a bottle of whisky as well as wine. In fact, Juho is something of a "drinking man." Before Prohibition, he never

NIELMA
HIMSELF
FOND OF
DRINK

went home without his swig in the corner saloon; and often he was late for dinner. Sohvi had to learn to wait. The coming of Prohibition brought little change -- except that Juho was more or less ill most of the time. During the early years, before the quality of the bottled liquor improved. Frequently of an evening Sohvi still waits for Juho with the knowledge that he will be "under the influence" when he does arrive.

Though a drinking man, Juho is far from being a drunkard. He has never touched the pit. Nowadays, his drinking at times causes noisy and bitter arguments between him and the boy Victor, who is nervous and somewhat fed up with the old home-life in general, but unable to find an office job, and thus compelled to go on living at home -- from which he absents himself practically every evening after dinner. Juho, loving his son of course, is yet dissatisfied with him, often angry at him, and frequently upbraids him for his lack of studiousness, for his apparent frivolity and ingratitude (for Victor, wearing fine tailor-made clothes and always with a dollar in his pocket, is more fortunate than many youths with parents better provided with the world's goods).

As for Anna, she is of course the apple of Juho's eye, and perhaps with reason, for Anna did well in school, and has not only supported herself ever since graduation, but has also helped her parents. Both parents are pleased with Anna (but Sohvi is also fiercely protective of Victor, and takes his part in almost every argument); and it is natural that Anna, though a good girl, is in-

VICTOR DIS-
SATISFIED

ANNA A
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[To be continued]

54

not included

My father and mother were the Finnish speaking Finns, but the owner of the farm where we lived was a Swedish-Finn. There has been, and still is, much bitterness between the two races. Until 1830, Swedish was the official language used throughout the country. Only a few peasants in the outlying districts spoke Finnish. Within less than one hundred years the Finns have revived their own language, and along with it, the background and development of the real Finnish people. Although Finland has had in the past so much of the Swedish influence and many of their customs seem to be the same, there is a decided streak in the Finns that makes them different. The Finns have had no many hardships and have been such a loyal people both under Swedish and Russian rule, that they rarely deserve to come into their own. There were no hostilities in the everyday life on the farm. The Swede probably felt superior, which, of course, he was, economically.

My mother died when I was ten years old. For about two years my father, brother and I stayed here, but it was finally decided that I should be sent to my aunt, who was then living in a small town near Helsingfors. The town was more of an industrial town. Since the death of our mother, we had taken care of ourselves as best we could. When a button fell off, we would hook our clothes together with a nail just so that they would hang on. The only civilizing influence that we had was school.

84

So I was somewhat of a barbarian, and I was in no particularly happy mood about going away. My carefree life suited me. My aunt, uncle and three children lived in a small cottage down near the mills. There were also a number of factories around the lake. My uncle was an electrical worker in one of the plants. As well as I can remember, his salary was something over a dollar a day. There six people to live on that. My aunt had taken me in out of the kindness of her heart. We had more room here than if we had been living in a larger city. In one of the large cities we probably would be living in a one-room house. The Finns do not seem to mind close quarters. My aunt's little house had three rooms. Everything of course was of the simplest, but it was so different from the surroundings that I had been used to. I had never seen anything so neat and clean. By the window of the main living-room was a loom, and on this my aunt and oldest cousin had woven the long strips of carpet that covered the floor, the blue striped curtains at the windows, and most of the household linens. Different societies had started a revival of the old handicrafts among the workers. Salt fish, coffee, and dark bread were still our main diet.

The woods, the only part of my surroundings that reminded me of my old home, were all around.

I went with my younger cousins to the elementary school. This was a large wooden building, and there were over one hundred

children attending. My oldest cousin was then attending an adult high school nearby. This was on the order of a school for working men and women. Here anyone eighteen years old or over could attend the courses three or four months during the winter. They had to pay a small sum for this. Board, room, and instruction were about thirty marks a month. The instruction given in these schools was more of a general nature. There were no examinations.

My oldest cousin had now been working in a textile mill about a year. He was getting about twelve marks a day. I was able to get into the same work, and with the same amount of pay.

But things were getting difficult in Finland. Finland had been progressing in every way under the free constitutional reign of Russia, but now Nicholas had suspended her constitution, and Finland was under the dictatorship of a Russian governor-general. The Finns fought through these times as well as through so many other hard times that they have had to face. But they won now by passive resistance, not force. At this time all Finns were united for Finland's rights. The Swedes and the Finns had now the same goal. The lead was taken by the social democrats, which was then a strongly organized party. Everyone, no matter what his belief or principle, followed this party's lead. All work was to be laid down, and not until the people were clear as to the future of their country would the work be started again.

For a week factories, railways, schools, and shops--everything was closed. But this was one time when a general strike was a successful one. The Finns won, and about 1907 they set up one of the most democratic governments that any country had ever had.

During these times, everything was terribly upset. No one knew what was going to happen next. I decided to leave my native land.

11

Handwritten text, mostly illegible due to fading. The text appears to be organized into several lines or paragraphs, possibly containing names and dates. Some legible fragments include "1861", "1862", and "1863".

^H
~~The subject~~ was born in city of Nurmee, Finland in 1883, one of a family of 3 children. His father earned a living for the family by operating a tailoring and alteration shop in the city of Nurmee. During the time that ~~the subject~~ was attending Grammar School, he worked after school hours, and on his time off from school, in his father's tailoring shop doing various odd jobs. ~~that are usually to be found in a tailor shop.~~

~~The subject's~~ duties in the shop consisted mainly of delivering suits, taking care of the stock, carrying coal ~~for~~, and cleaning the stoves on which the huge irons used for pressing were heated.

When ~~the~~ young ~~subject~~ was not engaged in these odd jobs, his father had him ripping seams, sewing linings in old suits and also doing small alteration work. When ^{the subject} ~~he~~ could sew fairly well, his father started in earnest to teach him the tailoring business.

^H
~~The subject~~ was first taught how to make trousers, then vests, and finally to make coats. ~~The subject~~ was also taught how to take measurements and to cut a pattern for ~~a~~ suit or ~~an~~ overcoat.

After serving his apprenticeship, which was about four or five years, ~~the subject~~ was ~~now~~ a journeyman tailor.

His father's business, however, did not warrant an increase in employees so ~~the~~ subject was forced to look to other places for employment.

~~The~~ subject traveled to various farming villages, where there ~~was~~ ^{were} no local tailors, in Finland and in parts of Russia spending several weeks in each village making suits and overcoats for the farmers and workers in these villages. ~~H.~~

In this way, ~~the~~ subject gained a great amount of experience in his trade, but there was no great opportunity for advancement in traveling from village to village.

He learned from some of his fellow tradesmen, who had friends in this country, and who themselves, hoped to be able to come to America, that the opportunity in America for a tailor to succeed was far greater than anything that their own country offered them. ~~H.~~

Because ~~the~~ subject had saved a small amount of money, he was willing to take a chance with his savings and buy passage to the land, ~~of~~ which he had heard ~~offered~~ so much opportunity to tailors. ~~R.~~

In 1915 ~~the~~ subject came to New York. He had no trouble in securing a position with one of the largest custom tailoring concerns in New York. He was happy to find that a large number

of his country-men worked in this shop and he was sure he would not be lonesome in his new land.

~~The subject~~ went to night school in New York for several years to learn the English Language, because he wanted to be a designer and, to be a designer without first being able to speak the English Language was an impossibility as in this job, he would have to meet the public.

~~The subject~~ After he had ~~fairly~~ mastered his new language, was offered the position of designer by a San Francisco Custom Tailoring Company.

~~The subject~~ is now living and working in San Francisco. His two sons ^{have} ~~are~~ finished high school and they are now working. When asked what the general trend of things was in the custom tailoring business he replied that the custom tailoring business has been ~~receding~~ while the Ready Made Clothing business is increasing due to the invention of various machines that turn clothing out quickly and cheaply, ~~the custom tailoring business is receding while the ready made clothing business is increasing.~~ In the ready made clothing business hundreds of standard garments can be cut from one pattern while in the custom tailoring business individual pattern must be cut for each person. The price of ready made clothing is also lowered by the use of ~~various~~ cost saving machinery.

whereas in the custom tailoring work, ~~a great~~ the cost is greater because of the great amount of hand work that goes into a custom tailored garment. He further states that tailoring has ceased to become a trade due to the fact that people working at tailoring specialize in one particular part of a garment: ~~such as~~, one man puts sleeves on coats another man sews on the collars and another workman makes button hole while another man presses the garment; ~~and~~ each individual workman does nothing else all day but ~~to~~ work at the special task that is assigned to him. At the time ~~the subject~~ learned his trade a person was not considered a tradesman unless he could make a garment completely and entirely by himself.

This specialization is very much more evident in America than in European countries as the European countries have not yet arrived at the stage where circumstances make mass production the order of the day.

ST-

not included

Informant--M

M was born in Hangö or Hangoniemi, Finland, in 1880. The latter name for his birthplace is the one of his preference, since it is the Finnish title, and all devoted Finns are averse to according usage to the former Swedish. His great grandfather was a Swedish kappelmeister, but all his descendants appear to have become thoroughly Finnish. The death of M's father brought the responsibility for the welfare of a family of four children and a mother upon him at the age of thirteen. Thus he was able to obtain only a few years schooling. By various odd jobs in factories he maintained the family above the poverty level until he was twenty-one, when he fled Finland for America to avoid conscription. The younger children were then sufficiently grown to assume support of the family.

In America there was not a soul he knew, and sickening immediately of New York with its stifling strangeness, he departed for Canada in 1901. Hard labor in the lumber camps, coal mines, along the railroads, dulled friendlessness in a foreign land. Absolutely unbound by ties of family or friends, he worked his way westward to Vancouver, and from there to San Francisco in 1906. West Berkeley--flat, near the water, and with its sparse settlement of Finns offered a greater nearness to home, and there he settled late in 1906.

He immediately began to attend school in the evenings after working days in a sheet metal shop. Never content with the limitations of his schooling, he began to educate himself and has continued to this day. Well versed in Finnish history and tradition, literature and government, he is regarded by all Finns a cultured and educated man, as well as a good and honest workman.

Early in his life in the Berkeley colony he began to build a social and cultural life for his kinsmen here. He married a Finnish girl from Borga or Porvoo, by 1913 established his own sheet metal shop, and began to bring up a family. The chief interest in his life, next to his business, was an absorption with the development of a communal life for those of his countrymen who were settled in the same territory. He was one of the nucleus who gathered the necessary funds for the first hall in West Berkeley, and under his influence, activities there embellished the lives of the settlers.

Since his mother had been an actress, the drama particularly interested him, and many plays depicting historical and epic incidents of Finland were presented under his direction. The families would gather their youngsters under their arms, and come to the hall several times a week; there a nurse took care of the children while the parents danced, took part in plays, sang in the choruses, held meetings of all types. Because of M's devotion to the welfare of his Finnish brothers, and because of his knowledge and gift for expression, he was considered a leader in the group.

During the post war years the business expanded, two other shops around the neighborhood came into his possession, and M's reputation as an honest and reliable business man was coupled with that of a generous and socially conscious man. About twelve years ago the people of West Berkeley, desiring certain improvements in that section of town, sought representation on the City Council. The logical candidate for that office was M, well known for his qualities as a good citizen and faithful to the advancement of his fellow Finns. Since that time he has acted in that capacity and has won still greater honor by his liberal and intelligent handling of the post.

Always averse to extremes, and having the utmost faith in the ability of intelligent thinking to cope with status quo, he is completely without sympathy for his radical countrymen. Since he was opposed to any political alignment of radical nature, and since he was the leader of the fraternal group, he has a contemptuous attitude toward the faction that ~~expelled~~^{rejected} him from a hall which he was ~~very~~ instrumental in building.

Success in this country has not turned him away from his love of home country; he has never sought to rise out of his national group, but rather to construct their life in this country to all that it might have been in Finland and more, for the benefits America confers on her immigrant population are numerous.

For many years he has wanted to visit Finland; to him it is imbued with all the glories of home, despite the extremely satisfactory condition of his life here. His children were taught to regard their father's native land as a magnificent country, they learned the Finnish language, they mingle with Finnish people and have the same attitude of benevolent love of their countrymen as their parents. M's business did not allow him the necessary time for a trip to Finland during the years of prosperity, and during the troublesome times of depression he did not feel that he could afford the trip. He hopes with returning prosperity to be enabled to return for a visit, but would not care to remain there.

90 91

Informant-- A--M's daughter

M's daughter was born in West Berkeley and has lived there during her entire twenty-five years. Her earliest memories are of playing with the little Finnish children of the neighborhood; she recalls vividly the snock of having a non-Finnish neighbor move away because her child was learning the Finnish language from her playmates. When A first went to school she was unable to speak a word of English, but she knew that as a little Finnish girl she must excel in her studies, and therefore learned to speak very quickly and henceforth got all ones on her report cards. At home there were many stories of life in her parents' country, there were always social events at the hall where the Finns gathered, the food at home was predominantly Finnish, and even the children had to take steam baths once a week. A and her sister and two brothers knew what it meant to be Finnish and to honor the nation from which they came.

Life at home had no difficulties for M's children, for they were well enough off to have the best of everything and never to be deprived of childhood pleasures by chores in the home. So lacking in snobishness was their upbringing, however, that A has always felt that she would love to work in a family, as do so many women of her nationality when they come to this country as immigrants.

A went through school in the companionship of three other Finnish girls, and they proudly upheld their nation by always being at the head of the class. Even in college national pride was further advanced by A's winning the distinction of Phi Beta Kappa. Despite her education and constant mingling with Americans, her interest in the group in which she was raised has been sufficient to restrict the large part of her social life to activities in the Finnish Brotherhood. She is an active worker and organizer of many

functions which serve to bind the Finns together and to perpetuate the elements of the culture and habits of Finland. She is extremely well informed on all matters Finnish, and is regarded highly in those circles, as well as having a great number of acquaintances in all ~~strata~~ strata of the population here.

In 1930 she made a trip to Finland and so deeply inculcated had become all the stories of her parents, that she amazed all her relatives by finding her way around as readily as if she had lived there her entire life. Finland she found all that she had expected. The working people at their best are not nearly so fortunate as they are in the United States. Here, despite the intrusion of the depression, modern conveniences and the advantages of civilization are available to everyone, while there, the picturesque lives of the farmers and industrial workers are interesting to the observer, but most uncomfortable. For the educated classes -- the women particularly -- there are more possibilities than in the United States. Women friends of hers have gone there to study architecture under some of the ablest men of that profession in the world. For generations, in Finland, women have been free to enter almost any occupation of their choice, even those involving heavy labor and ordinarily in this country restricted to men alone. A would like to return to Finland for visits, but regards America as her home.

A. acts as secretary to her father in his business, and telephone conversations in the presence of the interviewer revealed that she knew the operation of the sheet metal shop very well, even to the extent of understanding technical details of building materials.

92

Likewise the interviewer was able to obtain A's reaction to the depression via a telephone conversation: " So sorry the order was held up, but we have been terrifically busy--things are improving at a great rate--oh yes, prosperity is coming with a big bang--we'll all be rich pretty soon."

53
Finland

not included

78

HOUSEMAID COMES FROM FINLAND TO
LIVE IN THE UNITED STATES

In the bleak, rugged North lands of Europe lived the family of Josephine, housemaid, who came to America ten years ago, when she was only fifteen years of age. She came alone all the way, but joined her older sister here in the middle west.

"I came because I could not get along with my mother. My sister left home some years before, came to America with some people who knew her in the old country. She was able to secure positions in housework at good wages and was much happier than in our native country.

"I went to school as long as the children usually go over there. Then I was put to work in homes as housemaid, sometimes nursemaid. I learned how to do all kinds of house work and I made up my mind to plan to leave home permanently.

"I did not tell anyone my plan. I was determined to work hard and save every cent until I had enough for fare. I came away, first to New York, then by train to Duluth, Minnesota, where my sister lived.

"I could not speak a word of English and had barely money enough to manage food, besides my tickets.

"Now when I think of a sixteen year old girl, very ignorant and inexperienced, not speaking a word of the language of this country, I actually shudder; it was so very terrible. So many awful things might have happened to me among strangers.

"But I got along quite well although the trip was pretty bad, traveling as ~~cheap~~ as I ~~came~~. There were other persons speaking the language of Finland, who helped me.

"After I once reached my sister I was all right for the time being. She had a position~~x~~ and she soon located one for me and I began to study to try to speak English. We made a few friends, and I thought I was going to be so happy. The climate here is far less severe even in coldest weather than back home. The summer is delightful.

"But my happiness did not last long. When I was a little more than sixteen and had been here just a short while, my sister died. In the meantime, I had met a girl known to my older sister, from the old country, who had gone to Chicago with her friend, a beautiful blonde girl named Olga. Now that my sister had ~~passed away~~, I had no one and so this friend who was a little older than I was, wrote for me to come to them in Chicago and work there. I therefore went to Chicago.

"Chicago was a terrible city and very dangerous. This friend could speak quite good English and she appeared more alert to her surroundings than I was. I was ~~to~~ young and inexperienced and had no fear of anything. I always thought, nothing can hurt me, I am not afraid.

"One night I came home with a purchase from a certain shop. When my friend saw the street I had been shopping on

80

at night she told me it was a very dangerous part of the city and never to go down there alone again.

"Then soon after something dreadful happened.

"Olga, her friend, as I said, was very beautiful, with big blue eyes, golden hair and a lovely skin. Everybody turned to look at her. But she could speak no English. It seemed hard for her to learn. Olga went out one day and she never came back. We hunted and waited and finally reported her lost. There was an effort made to find her, but we never saw her again and we two girls were very unhappy to know we could do nothing.

"It was nearly six months later that her body was found in the mud flats, washed up, with the very same clothes on she wore when she disappeared. It was thought she had put up a terrific fight with whoever accosted her or tried to take her away. She was a very strong physically and a very good girl. We knew she would fight until she was killed rather than do anything wrong. After her body was found and identified we two girls felt much afraid ourselves to live in such a bad city, so we decided right away to come to San Francisco.

"We had barely enough money between us to get us out here and when we arrived in the Ferry Building we were practically penniless. I almost have a nervous chill when I think of it. I had learned very little English, we were both so young and alone in this big city with no money and

not a person we knew!"

Josephine is now twenty-six years old, much more worldly than then and knows the dangers which beset foreign girls who are pretty, ignorant and cannot speak our language.

"What did you do," I questioned eagerly, visioning those two foreign girls in a Ferry train crowd, with no money, no place to go.

"Well we knew about the Travelers Aid so we asked for the representative who is always at the train station. And when she came we were all right. We were taken care of. She knew our Finnish church and she knew a woman of our church who had a boarding home and we went right there, then saw the preacher later and were fully taken care of.

"These people were friends and found us work and all was well. Sometimes I have had trying work and have had some unpleasant experiences.

"Once I worked in a cafe and sometimes had to come home as late as 2 o'clock in the morning when there were special events in the cafe. I had to come alone and several times I was frightened by men driving up in a machine and asking me to go for a ride. Sometimes they were very persistent.

"Now I have a place as second maid, I have my own room and bath with everything clean and comfortable, good food and pleasant surroundings and I am not exposed to the approach of strangers on the streets late at night as when I worked downtown.

"I met some people through the church and I now have quite a few friends so I do not feel strange here. I have been in America nearly ten years.

"When I think of the little sixteen year old girl, who could speak no English, with only tickets to this country, bravely starting on the long journey alone, well even yet I think how very terrible it was."

Black/1/28/37
Edit-Love
2/2/37

RACIAL MINORITIES SURVEY - FINNISH

Gus Peterson has no clear conception of the circumstances of his family at the time of his birth some 63 years ago, on a little farm in Finland but he remembers that his parents said the event occurred under most unfavorable conditions.

Winters are normally severe in Finland but it was difficult for his parents to remember a day more bitterly cold and miserable than the one on which their third child opened his eyes to the world. For nearly a week preceding, the thermometer had registered more than 70 degrees below zero. That was crackling cold. And to add to the gravity of the occasion a menacing wind swirled sleet and snow over the icebound terrain.

Several weeks before, the mother had slipped and fallen on the ice in the yard, injuring herself badly. That occurrence may have been the cause of Gus's arrival days in advance of the expected time. At two o'clock in the morning, while the blizzard raged outside, there were sudden, but unmistakable, signs that Gus was knocking for immediate admittance to the household. The family was unprepared to receive him. Owing to the harshness of the elements, their efforts had been directed to keeping themselves warm and comfortable. Before dawn, Gus was kicking and squirming -- making his presence known generally. The doctor came later in the morning to find the mother and baby making the best of what had been a strenuous ordeal.

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Black-1/28/37
Edit-Love
2/2/37

Racial Minorities Survey
Finnish

The house on the 10 acre farm where Gus was born was built of stone and roofed with straw. A large living room, which was also used as a sleeping room, and a kitchen made up the living quarters for the family of nine. A spacious fireplace was built into the wall of the living room, in which huge logs were burned. There was never a shortage of fuel, for the nearby forests provided an endless supply.

A regular event of importance within the home, which took place about every two weeks, was baking day. The large brick oven, just off from the kitchen, was heated for hours in preparation for the baking. Then the coals were drawn out and the shaped dough placed in the heated compartment. The bread was made from rye grown on the farm.

During the frozen winter months, all operations outside were at a complete standstill. The rye, being the principal crop, was sown before the snow came. Of course, nothing grew until spring was far enough advanced to thaw out the ground.

When the weather permitted, Gus devoted many hours to tobogganing and sledding. Perhaps his favorite winter pastime was making ships and other marine objects in the snow. One of his efforts, on which he particularly prided himself, was the building of a sailing slipper from snow and ice. The snow ship was some 30 feet in length. It was such a realistic reproduction of the colorful old ships which at one time ruled the merchant lanes of the seas, that people came

Black-1/28/37
Edit-Love
2/2/37

Racial Minorities Survey
Finnish

from many miles around to view it. The model was complete to masts, rigging and sails. Spread canvas was reproduced by the formation of ice and snow over nettings of wire. According to Gus's version, the snow structure appeared very much like a phantom ship in a forest. The model remained until the breaking up of winter, subject to frequent repairs and overhauling, made necessary by the ravages of the elements.

Gus had but little schooling. He attended a public school for five years, where he learned to read and spell, and acquired some knowledge of arithmetic. The Bible had a conspicuous place in his limited elementary education. Bible study was as regular as any other school study. After his schooling, Gus helped his father on the farm until he was 14 years old.

At the age of 14 he went to sea, although he came not from seafaring stock. In fact, none in his family had ever had maritime tendencies but himself. Doubtless his hobby for making snow ships while on the farm foretold what his future career was destined to be.

On account of the extensive lumber industry which flourished throughout the Scandinavian countries, trained seamen were in constant demand for service on the lumber carrying vessels. The youth of Finland were given an opportunity at an early age to serve their apprenticeships. However, learning to be a seaman on a merchant vessel required the same orderly and thorough process as did qualifying for any trade.

Black-1/28/37
Edit-Love
2/2/37

Racial Minorities Survey
Finnish

Gus was first a cabin boy on a sailing vessel plying the Baltic Sea. After several cruises he worked through his apprenticeship to become a first class seaman. He went through five years of gruelling, adventurous sea duty, aboard various types of ships, before he was given a rating of able seaman. Having obtained that rating, he found the "seven seas" open to him. And Gus actually sailed them during the 15 years of unbroken service at sea.

His retirement at age 27 did not result from desire to give up his seagoing career. He left the service because of necessity. While in Chinese waters, he contracted chronic dysentery, that dread disease with which seamen are so often afflicted. The clipper ship, on which Gus was sailing, had entered the area where the Yangse Kiang river flows into the sea. Knowledge that the prow of the ship was breaking fresh water was more than the pent up cravings of the crew could withstand. Buckets were lowered and soon the crew, almost to a man, had partaken of the Yangse's polluted water, and partaken freely. Bowel inflammation swept through the crew without favor. Many of the seamen failed to survive the return voyage. Those who did were incapacitated for further duty. Gus believes that he was more fortunate than any other man in the lot, in that his case was comparatively mild. He emphasized, however, that was true only in comparison, for he has never entirely recovered from the affliction.

As Gus reflects back over his sea career now, it is not easy to comprehend how he stood it for so many years. Without

Black-1/28/37
Edit-Love
2/2/37

Racial Minorities Survey
Finnish

question, the conditions fascinated him; the sea itself, strange lands and peoples; the thrill of anticipation of what lay beyond as the sturdy clipper plowed through leagues and leagues of ocean; days of sailing over seas glassy smooth; hours of running before a gale -- canvas bulging and straining; the ship wallowing in the trough, with mountains of water towering menacingly above, then mounting to the stars; seas coming over, raking all before them -- even humans; all parts of a seaman's life, experiences unforgettable.

But the men who made up the crews of the old sailing ships were subject to treatment brutal and inhuman. Even Gus had felt the hand of discipline beyond limit. He came to know that those in command were not put there primarily for their ability to navigate a ship. They were men with the strength of beasts and the will to crush out any and all who dared to oppose them. If a seaman for an instant hesitated to execute an order or misinterpreted a command, more than likely he would pay dearly for his error. A blow on the head with an iron or pin--anything-- anything within reach of the commanding officer, might follow. Gus had witnessed a captain stalking single handed into a group of sulky or rebellious seamen, knocking them right and left to the deck.

There were times, though, when seamen retaliated affectively. Mutinous crews were not uncommon. While such a state existed, according to Gus, officers seldom left their stations or their quarters at night. An officer feared to appear on deck alone, lest he would be waylaid in the dark.

Black-1/28/37
Edit-Love
2/2/37

Racial Minorities Survey
Finnish

Unfortunately, Gus was ailing at the time this interviewer called upon him. He was suffering from the effects of the dysentery which siezed him years ago when he drank the water from the Chinese river. The condition of his throat would not permit him converse freely. Otherwise, a more detailed narration of some of his sea experiences would have proven highly interesting -- perhaps enlightening.

Gus was asked about his impression of New York when he landed there.

"Well, I can tell you what happened when I landed there," he said. "I was robbed."

According to his story, he went to a hotel and engaged a room. He had just been paid off by the ship that had sailed to Hamburg and had \$65 in gold coin and a small bag of German silver coins. When he retired to his bed, he had laid his trousers over a chair and fallen asleep. Later, he wakened but didn't realize just what had wakened him. He thought he had heard a slight noise in the room, and even suspected that he saw, through the gloom, the form of a person. Rubbing his eyes, he decided it was all a nightmare, for he had been roused from a heavy sleep. Then he slept again.

The next morning the situation cleared after he had found the money had been taken from his pants. He had actually seen the thief in the act of robbing him -- then turned over and went to sleep again. He wondered whether it was safe for such a dumbbell to remain another minute ashore in America.

Black-1/28/37
Edit-Love
2/2/37

Racial Minorities Survey
Finnish

7

He related his loss to the hotel proprietor. Gus said;

"I knew from the look on his face when I told him about it that he was the guilty one."

Because he could not speak a word in English, Gus felt helpless and let the matter drop. "I could never have made the police understand what I was talking about," he said.

The last long voyage Gus ever took was the one he made to California. He came around Cape Horn on a steam vessel, and disembarked at the old Redondo pier. And Gus knew exactly what his ultimate destination was. It was a little village along the foothills, not far from Los Angeles. That was in the year 1895, and he has lived in Sierra Madre ever since. At least, it has been home to him since that time.

Gus had known of Sierra Madre while he was on the other side of the ocean. It might be said that, at that time, Sierra Madre was America to him. He had heard of it in Paris; in Belgium; in Hamburg. 'Round the world sailors had told him of a place in California where the climate was so nearly perfect; Where the air and water was so pure that one could be cured of most any sort of ailment by just living there. It was recommended that he go there and find relief from his dysentery. And Gus came.

Now, after more than 40 years in Sierra Madre, Gus will tell you that his sailor friends in Paris, Bordeaux and Hamburg did not, in the least, misrepresent the little village in the shadows of the Sierra Madre mountains. Nowhere, he says, in all his travels about the world has he found a spot

Black-1/28/37
Edit-Love
2/2/37

Racial Minorities Survey
Finnish

where conditions are more favorable to living than in Sierra Madre. Although he has never fully recovered his health, he feels better there than in any other place he has lived since he became afflicted. He places the responsibility for not having completely regained his health wholly upon himself. He believes that he would be entirely well had he dissipated less.

There were very few houses in Sierra Madre when Gus first went there. The town was mostly vineyards and orchards. Gus bought four lots and built a home on one of them. He found one thing lacking in the community. It offered him no means of livelihood. Most all of the labor in the orchards and vineyards was being done by Mexicans and Japanese. As a means of economic preservation, he went back to the merchant marine again. He served on coastwise vessels. Whenever he was in port, and could get long enough shore leave, he went to Sierra Madre to look after his property.

After another five years of sea service, he went to Sierra Madre to permanently settle down. He had earned and saved enough money to maintain himself until he could work out some other means of deriving an income. Sierra Madre was beginning to grow, so he learned the painting trade and followed it until recent years.

Soon after he established himself finally, Gus built another house on the lot adjoining the home he occupies. He succeeded in keeping the place rented most of the time, even

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Black-1/28/37
Edit-Love
2/2/ 37

Racial Minorities Survey
Finnish

through the depression, but he has had several poor tenants. One of his renters, at one time, was six months behind in his rent. In addition, he failed to take proper care of the property. Whenever Gus attempted to collect a part of the rent, the tenant became abusive. Several times he threatened Gus. An attempt was made to oust the tenant through legal procedure. Gus also had the man arrested for his threatening attitude. Being unfamiliar with California court customs, Gus appeared in his own behalf, without counsel. The Court refused to permit Gus to present his own case, and, in so doing, failed to apprise him of his right to have free counsel, that is what Gus claims. He came out of the court tilt without having accomplished a thing. He fared even worse than that, for his tenant turned about and sued him for false arrest. The case was dismissed, but if Gus has one grievance against American institutions, it doubtless will be held against the courts and their manner of dispensing justice.

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Dorothy Snenkman

No Folklore

Nov. 27th, 1935

Not union

P. was born in Tammerfors, Finland, about 1895. The city, converging point for two large rivers, was an industrial center with a population of 60,000. P.'s parents lived in the heart of the city, where his father worked as fireman in one of the large factories. Though the father earned a comfortable living, all four sons went to work immediately after finishing their required four year's schooling. Such limited training necessarily restricted them to odd jobs in the factories or to selling newspapers.

The family was ordinarily religious, but the ^{children} ~~children~~ rapidly dropped the pretence of belief when they became financially independent. Evidently the life at home was barren of the colorful Finnish festivities and customs, for P. retains no vivid memories of celebrations of either religious or national character. He does not feel that folklore and customs are important enough to examine when the problems that confront the Finnish workers are infinitely more pertinent today. Finland, for him, exists only partly as a remembered homeland; more clearly he thinks of the country as part of a future universal homeland. He is appreciative of the elements of culture contributed by his native land, but sees in Nationalism which flaunts the slogan, "my people are the greatest people on earth," an attempt on the part of the middle class to conceal the inherent class divisions of society. P.'s history is the best explanation of his attitude.

P.'s comments give a picture of what factory conditions were in Finland; long hours and little pay were the general rule for young workers. From 1900 onwards, there was a considerable growth of workers' organizations, usually political as well as economic

in nature. There were at least fifteen different political parties, largely nationalistic in character. Finland, long dominated by Russia and Sweden, was beginning to seek her independence from Czarist military control and Swedish domination of the upper class business and professional circles. P. participated in street fights, which were directed against the 8,000 Russian soldiers stationed in Tammerfors. There was deep resentment against the exclusive use of the Swedish language in both universities, and the tendency on the part of the upper classes to regard the Finnish language as uncultured. Each political group had its own paper; even the smaller towns and villages had their local political publications.

P. was a studious and intelligent worker who spent a great deal of time remedying his limitations of schooling. The Social-Democratic party, having eighty-four members of the Diet, had gained considerable prestige amongst the workers, and it was to this group that he aligned himself. His adoption of a materialistic conception of society naturally insured an emphasis on the immediate problems of the working class, and is the basis for his inability to relate folk-tales or to reminisce about the habits of his people.

In 1915, after landing several times as a sailor, he came to America to stay. From New York he went on to Michigan, where a large Finnish population lessened his discomfort with barriers of American language and habits. From that time to the present, he has worked at a number of things, including carpentering, longshoreing, and all types of factory work. Up to the depression, he managed to earn a living; no dependants

and full knowledge before he came to America that "for the working man there is no chance anywnere", prevented him from longing for a better fate in Finland. Despite his broken English, he speaks with care, and appeared to understand even the more uncommon words of the interviewer. He has acquired a thorough understanding of political theory, and his major interest is in the development of world economic affairs.

The Finnish people, according to P., are very slowly assimilated in the United States. Great difficulty with the English language forces them to settle in localized areas, to intermarry, and to continue many of the habits of home. The Finnish colony in Berkeley he estimates at eight- or nine-hundred. Here, as in Finland, there are large class divisions, though the lines between upper and lower classes are less sharp. Nonetheless, those who have kept the culture and the reverence for the mother country intact are the upper wage groups, who believe in the future of a nationalistic Finland. A great number of the Finnish people of Berkeley, however, while living in much the same manner as they did in Finland, are by virtue of their economic condition more closely allied with the workers of this country. There is a Finnish Federation, which is Communist in sympathy, and although its habits and customs are essentially Finnish, interviewers are referred to the more prosperous business people of their community for information concerning their ^{native} folklore. The Finnish newspapers, of which several are bourgeois in policy and several working class, furnish further proof of the social divisions which are still maintained.

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DIST I,
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Gertrude L. Willett.

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Nationality,
Finlander,
Southern part,
Elizabeth ---

ELIZABETH COMES ADVENTURING TO AMERICA.

Twenty years ago, Elizabeth made up her youthful mind to come across the great Atlantic, adventuring in the United States of America. A woman acquaintance with her two children was coming over to live, meeting her husband in Portland Oregon. He had established a home for them on a farm near Portland.

Elizabeth says she came over in company with the wife and children, but left them in Portland, and never saw them again. She was absolutely on her own, without friend or kin, unable to speak English - and a sorry time she had for a long while. She secured a position in housework, but she cried most of the time for a while. Later she began to get acquainted, to learn a little English and become adjusted somewhat.

The climate, and the country, claimed her interest at all times.

"Ah, it is so wonderful, warm and lovely at all times even raining. And the place, everything so very wonderful, so many kinds of food, so much, so much everywhere, even poorer people have many kinds of things to eat, not just meats, meats potatoes and cheese as we had in Finland."

"The houses and buildings so pretty, I like them. In Finland the houses are strongly built, very warm too, but always the same, wood, stone and plaster, the same kind of windows, square and plain. But the houses there very comfortable."

"Sometimes after I first came here, and was so lonesome for my family and friends on the old country, I thought of going home and I plan to save my money up; but I like

America more and more yet I think of my parents, and friends I left over there. "

"I usually get very good jobs, second maid or general helper sometimes housekeeper, but the cooking I like not so well. But I save up my money, and six years ago I went back to my homeland and stayed for a visit. I already knew I wanted to come back, and when I got there and stayed a while, then I knew I would come back to America and always ~~stay~~ stay here.

"When I went back I could see more how that country really is different and --- not so good.

"Finland is a good sized country , rather far north very cold in the extreme north with storms very bad in winter, in fact most of the year. My father has a farm in southern Finland, down near the Gulf of Bothnia. Finland is really a vast tableland, and about half heavy forests, with a vast number of lakes.

"It is very beautiful in most places, with rivers and lakes, and in the North mountains which are very high. (Nearly 4000 ft in many places.) The forests are pine and fir, used for commercial purposes, lumber, wood, resin, and woodpulp for the big Finnish paper mills which are an important manufacturing industry.

"There are many fertile valleys, and fields for raising grains, rye and oats, also potatoes; cattle and sheep are leading herds and butter products are important, the country exporting vast amounts of butter and cheese. Much land too is good for grazing. And there is much hunting for wild animals that range round in the forests.

"Ah, but the winters are so long, so very long and cold. Polar regions in the north very very cold and even in the far southern parts, winter sets in in October and runs on until about May 15th, but there are some thaws of several days duration during this time. Spring comes very suddenly and lasts about a month, then it is summer, very quickly dry and very hot and disagreeable.

"But we had nice friends who had lived there always, good schools and fine churches, most of the people being Protestants. Finnish people are mostly well educated. There are no ignorant groups. They are serious and think of getting an education, living soberly and not of ever neglecting work or business for pleasure.

"The people live to a good old age. My father is 79; one brother is 85 and another 82 years old and all are well now. My father looks after his land, and stock. He has a good size place maybe 160 acres maybe more like 200 acres. Lots of forest too. In summer he has a great deal of wood cut and hauled in all ready for winter months. We always kept very warm and comfortable. We had plenty of foods of the kind they have there, meats lots of meat, butter, cheese, fish etc.

"But I got my visit out and back I come to the United States in America. I come later to San Francisco and here I work now as a second maid in a fashionable home. I have a nice place, my own room and bath, finest board and everything provided, including my uniforms so my wages I do not have to spend except for what I want.

"Sometimes when I see so much fine food, big quantities and so many kinds in the kitchen I just look at it, it seems so wonderful to have so many kinds of vegetables fish and meats also fine lovely fruits - I just love it. And it is so very nice and warm

here in California all the time.

"I can speak pretty well now and so have made some friends I like very much. I shall never go back again except maybe to see my father who is still living. But I wish so much I might to ~~to~~ school, study again some here in American schools.

"I cannot go to the Americanization schools because they all begin classes at 7;00 and 7;30 and girls who do housework cannot get off until about 8;00. Fashionable people have dinner at 7;00 and 7;30 and we have our work to do. The foreign men work days and get off at 5;00 and 6;00 so they can attend easily, but the women mostly doing work in homes cannot go and we very much wish they might give ~~xx~~ classes at ~~8;30~~ 8;30 for us.

There is so much to learn here. I learn things every day, so much to see too, I do like America.

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here in California all the time.

"I can speak French well now and so I have made some friends I like very much. I shall never go back again except to see my father who is still living. But I wish so much I might go to school, study again and be in American schools."

"I cannot go to the Americanization school because they all have classes at 7:30 and 7:50 and give out the passport cannot get off until about 8:00. Fashionable people have dinner at 7:00 and 7:30 and we have our work to do. The foreign men work days and get off at 5:00 and 5:30 so they can afford easily, but the women mostly doing work in homes cannot go and we very much wish they might give us classes at 8:30 or 9:00 for us. There is no much to learn here. I learn things every day, so much to see too. I do like America."

